Volume XXXVII] *April, 1932* [*Number 3*

The

American Historical Review

MINNEAPOLIS MEETING
AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

THE journey of the American Historical Association to Minneapolis for its Forty-sixth Annual Meeting awakens some curiosity as to the itinerary of the other forty-five. The meeting which organized the Association took place at Saratoga, because it was held under the auspices of the elder Social Science Association which evidently still enjoyed the lingering splendors of that famous spa. The date was September 9–10, 1884. A year later a second meeting followed in the same place. In April, 1886, the Association was convened in Washington, the residence of its second president, George Bancroft. After a journey in May, 1887, to Boston and Cambridge the Association returned to Washington for four successive meetings. At this period the practice of holding the sessions during the December holidays was established. The first passage of the Appalachians was in July, 1893, for an annual meeting in Chicago, on the occasion of the World's Fair and of a World's Congress of Historians. Since that time the Association has crossed the mountains fourteen times, showing a proper respect for the fact that the center of its membership had also moved westward. The Minneapolis meeting is its farthest northwest. Certain dwellers east of the Appalachians feared, as last December approached, that the prospective low temperatures of Minnesota, long railway distances, and the darkening clouds of depression might hinder the success of the meeting. Those who ventured the journey found a climate which was merciful, a warm hospitality, sessions as interesting as any that are recorded, and a registered attendance reaching the figure of 441.

Six other historical bodies met concurrently: the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, the Conference of Historical Societies, the Agricultural History Society, the American Catholic Historical As-

sociation, the National Council for Social Studies, and the History of Science Society. The attendance of members of the American Historical Association was drawn mainly from Minnesota, Iowa, Wisconsin, and Illinois, but sixty-three were from the Old Thirteen, including the District of Columbia. The Coast had nine representatives and Canada seven. England furnished two, one of them Professor Hugh Hale Bellot who holds the new chair of American history at the University of London.

The University of Minnesota generously opened its doors for the sessions of the second day. They were held in the Minnesota Union, and there also the members of the various associations and societies were offered a luncheon. The historians were pleased to find that one of their fraternity, Dean Guy Stanton Ford, as acting president of the university, was to extend to them its welcome. Receptions were given by the Trustees of the Minneapolis Institute of Arts, and by the Committee on Local Arrangements at the Minneapolis Club.

The success of the meeting owed much to the planning of the Program Committee, of which Professor L. B. Shippee was chairman. Ushers were provided for each section so that those who wished to hear particular papers in sections meeting at the same time could make their entrance and egress with the least possible confusion. The arrangement of rooms at the Hotel Nicollet, where most of the sections met, also protected listeners from the noise of conversations in the lobbies. In several sections the good precedent was followed of having a single paper with active discussion of the question. If a first glance at the program left the reader rather puzzled by the competition of attractions, this seems inevitable with the great variety of interests represented in the membership of the Association.

It was appropriate that a meeting held in a state where the agrarian interest is strong enough to elect a Farmer-Labor senator, a state whose history illustrates the problems of the frontier and of immigration, should deal primarily with these aspects of American history. In the section on American Immigration the discussion was opened with a paper by Professor M. L. Hansen, of the University of Illinois, on The Relations of Immigration to Some of the Fundamental Factors of American Life: Expansion, Sectionalism, Democracy, Puritanism. To take these influences in the reverse order, Mr. Hansen held that mid-nineteenth century Puritanism had little relation to the Puritanism of seventeenth century New England; it was, rather, a form of discipline which the flood of immigration seemed to require.

Even the Catholic clergy exercised a rigorous restraint over their parishioners and ascribed to conduct a place in the religious system which it had not occupied in the European régime. Furthermore, the democracy which the immigrant sought was a simple type of equality, equality before the law, the right to vote, and equality of opportunity. This democratic spirit was not at all revolutionary, for as soon as the immigrant acquired property he became intensely conservative. Again, the nationalism of the immigration period was not, Mr. Hansen contended, a feeling natural to the immigrant, but was in part a native American reaction against imagined encroachments of the foreigner. The bearing of immigration upon the frontier movement was the most suggestive part of the paper, and that which provoked the sharpest differences of opinion. The speaker maintained that the immigrant was not fitted mentally or physically for successful pioneering, but that he naturally slipped into the place of the second generation of American pioneers, heirs of the desire to "move on". It was these "Yankees" of the second and third generations that were predestined, said Mr. Hansen, to inherit the land to the Pacific. In an indirect way the immigrant quickened the frontier movement. From the thesis that the immigrant had no important and direct share in frontier pioneering, Professor George M. Stephenson, of the University of Minnesota, who opened the discussion of the paper, dissented. Others also took a similar view.

Other aspects of the frontier and immigration movements were presented in the joint session of the Association and the Mississippi Valley Historical Association. Dr. Verne E. Chatelain, of the National Park Service, showed how the relatively liberal land laws of 1820 and 1841 broke down in practice, because public land sales, proclaimed with annoying frequency in a time of financial confusion by the Buchanan administration, threatened to deprive the actual settler of his preëmption rights. By 1860, Mr. Chatelain remarked, hundreds of settlers had preëmpted lands on which they had lived several years without paying a cent of purchase money, much less any rent or taxes. The frontiersmen could not see that the administration of the land system was actually too lenient, but began to demand insistently a homestead law. The "Black Republicans" were wise enough to put this concession in their platform and so the new state of Minnesota was ready by 1860 to aid in electing Abraham Lincoln. Dr. Donnal V. Smith, of the New York State College for Teachers, reënforced this assertion by showing how decisive was the influence throughout the Northwest of

the foreign born in the election of 1860. Multitudes of Germans, enamored of the ideal of democracy ever since 1848, had upon arrival in America affiliated themselves with the Democratic party because of its happily chosen name. With the adoption by the Republicans of a new and more liberal land policy many German Democratic clubs went over to Lincoln in a body. Carl Schurz was a potent force in persuading them to change their party allegiance.

At the same session two earlier questions of settlement in the Northwest were discussed by Dr. Louise P. Kellogg, of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, and Professor J. P. Pritchett, of the University of North Dakota. Miss Kellogg, in A Footnote to the Quebec Act, explained that the extension of the boundaries of Canada to the Ohio River was made by Lord Dartmouth in order to ensure that the French settlers in the Illinois country should not, like the Acadians, be in danger of being deported. The province of Quebec, therefore, was enlarged to include all the territory between the Great Lakes, the Ohio, and the Mississippi rivers. Mr. Pritchett, in a paper on The Red River Valley and the War of 1812, gave the history of an abortive scheme to restrict the limits of Louisiana Territory and to claim the Red River Valley for the English.

The problems of the farmer aroused as much interest as the question of immigration. Indeed, the chairman, Dr. Joseph Schafer, had to exercise his authority and close the Agricultural history session when the hour of five was reached. Part of this interest was due to the close relation of the third paper, read by Professor James C. Malin, of the University of Kansas, on The Background of the First Bill to establish a Bureau of Markets, to the more recent phases of agricultural distress. Mass production of corn and wheat being one of the phenomena of present day agriculture, its historical prototypes become interesting. Professor Paul W. Gates, of Bucknell University, described Large Scale Farming in Illinois in the 1850's and 1860's. He mentioned farms of 25,000, 30,000, and 40,000 acres, using machinery on a large scale, and with employees running into the hundreds. This helped to fasten the one crop system on central Illinois and did much to make that state the great wheat, corn, and oat producing state of the 'sixties. One of the most interesting points in the paper of Professor Harold E. Briggs, of Culver-Stockton College, on Early Bonanza Farming in the Red River Valley, was the description of the gradual shift from wheat as a single crop to diversified farming. This was caused by the decline between 1880 and 1890 in the price of wheat,

accompanied by an increase in the demand for dairy products. The owners of the bonanza farms, if their capital was not impaired by the panic of 1893, were only partially able through labor saving machinery and more scientific methods to overcome their handicaps.

The session on Missionary Activities in America also touched the life of the immigrant and other phases of the frontier. With the rapid increase in the number of German Catholics the need of trained priests became insistent. The effort to create seminaries for their education, either in Europe or in America, was the subject of a paper by the Rev. Peter Leo Johnson, of St. Francis Seminary. In the two decades after 1835 the number of priests per thousand of the German Catholic population steadily increased. Another element in the religious history of America was the conflict in the consciousness of the Moravians, described by Dr. Marie J. Kohnova, of the College of St. Scholastica, between their missionary zeal and a desire to become Americans like their neighbors. At first because of their refusal to bear arms they were regarded with suspicion. Dr. Grace L. Nute, of the Minnesota Historical Society, dealt with the Government Policy with respect to Missions among the Indians, showing that the growth of humanitarian feeling prompted the government after 1813 to make large grants to sectarian schools. Beginning with 1870 this policy gave way to the development of secular education as a complement of the "reservation" policy.

Other phases of American history were considered during the meeting. The session on American Foreign Relations concentrated its attention on a single theme with a paper entitled Preparing the American Public for Overseas Expansion, 1889–1898. This was presented by Professor Julius W. Pratt, of the University of Buffalo, and the discussion was led by Professor Louis M. Sears, of Purdue University. Mr. Pratt showed that the annexations which resulted from the Spanish-American War did not mark so sudden and pronounced a change of attitude as some writers have asserted. He designated Theodore Roosevelt and Senator Lodge as protagonists in the movement for expansion long before 1898. Certain congressmen whom he quoted seemed ready to annex everything south of the Aurora Borealis. He attributed a decisive influence to the writings of Captain Mahan, with their emphasis upon the value of sea power and the importance of naval bases and coaling stations all over the world.

The session on Canadian history touched indirectly upon our foreign relations, for the paper presented by Professor Chester Martin,

of the University of Toronto, on The United States and the British Policy in Canadian Confederation, maintained that up to 1864 a legislative union of the Maritime provinces was what the colonial office seemed chiefly to desire. In September of that year delegates from the old province of Canada appeared at the Charlottetown Conference to urge a broader federal union of all the British provinces. The colonial office now gave this idea energetic support. Mr. Martin's main thought was that so violent a reversal of policy was dictated by relations with the United States during the Civil War. The discussion was opened by Dr. A. L. Burt, of the University of Minnesota.

Two of the papers in the session on Nineteenth Century Liberalism dealt with American themes. Dr. Howard K. Beale, of Washington, D. C., sought to define that rather elusive term, "Tolerance", as it was conceived or practiced in America. His exposition showed the existence at different periods of the century of many varieties of intolerance. He attributed American intolerance to our frontier experience, the rise of Jacksonian democracy, provincialism, and authoritarian religion. To illustrate the development of tolerance, which is not a matter of law, but a thing of the spirit, Mr. Beale analyzed the attitude of typical leaders, Jefferson, Channing, Emerson, Lincoln, William James, Charles W. Eliot, and Phillips Brooks. In the same session Professor Charles M. Destler, of Albion College, traced the influence of Edward Kellogg on labor and farm movements of the period after the Civil War. Kellogg's work on *Labor and Other Capital* appeared in 1849. He held that only through a low rate of interest, legally fixed and uniform throughout the country, and a currency secured on real estate and convertible at the pleasure of the holder into government bonds, could the gains of labor and capital be equitably divided, instead of being monopolized by capital. His ideas were restated in a widely circulated pamphlet which Alexander Campbell issued in 1864. Their influence upon labor leaders and later upon the champions of the farmer in distress became more and more significant during the next two or three decades. It is interesting to note that like Saint-Simon, the founder of French socialism, Kellogg gained the leisure to pursue his financial inquiries through happy speculations in land.

To the questions of Hispanic-American history were devoted a luncheon and a session immediately following. The interest was indicated by the fact that the room was crowded to the doors. The first paper, by Professor Lillian E. Fisher, of the Oklahoma College

for Women, described the Intellectual Conditions in Mexico at the End of the Colonial Period. Aspiring Mexican writers had to contend with the obstacle of censorship, and this, Miss Fisher thought, accounts for the slow progress which was made. The political writings of the United States and the works of the French philosophers acquired a great, though surreptitious, influence. The young American-born Spaniards developed such a taste for forbidden books that the literary bootlegger became a phenomenon of the period. The reforms which the Spanish government had inaugurated half a century earlier were the subject of a paper by Professor Arthur S. Aiton, of the University of Michigan, with the title of Spanish Colonial Reorganization under the Family Compact. While Choiseul was in office and France was the leading partner, military strength was the main purpose. After 1770 the rôles were reversed and Spain took the lead. The successes of Spain during the American Revolution, said Mr. Aiton, are ample evidence of how well Spain had set her house in order. The Burr-Wilkinson Imbroglio: Possible Interpretations, furnished the theme for Professor Isaac J. Cox, of Northwestern University. It appears that through the recent sale of the Melville Papers the letters of Charles Williamson have become available and it was his rôle as the emissary of Burr and Wilkinson that Mr. Cox made clear. Williamson was also the agent of Anthony Merry, the British minister at Washington. The disgrace of Melville, the colleague and intimate of Pitt, ruined the ambitious schemes to invade Mexico and perhaps operate also in the Mississippi Valley.

Those who attended the session on the Far East had the unusual privilege of listening to a description of the negotiations which led up to the Sino-American Tariff Treaty of 1928, given by the man who was chairman of the American delegation and minister to China, Dr. James V. A. MacMurray, now director of the Page Institute of International Relations. It was a story of negotiations carried on under the difficulty of discovering a responsible government with which to negotiate. Finally when the Kuomintang party captured Nanking and set up what seemed to be a "going concern", its nationalist leaders readily accepted the proposals of the Western powers to concede to China autonomy in the matter of her tariffs, and as readily ignored the conditions which were attached to the proposals. At the close of his paper Mr. MacMurray remarked that his account was an "illustration of how policies, and the plans for carrying them into effect, are here and there checked or furthered by adventitious circumstances,

deflected by imponderable influences whose effects could not have been foreseen, and sometimes even transmuted by events into something of different character from what had been conceived". This phenomenon gained a second illustration in the paper by Professor Paul H. Clyde, of the University of Kentucky, on The China Policy of J. Ross Browne, American minister at Peking, 1868–1869, for Mr. Browne had gone out deeply sympathetic with China, and yet soon took the position that the United States should coöperate with the powers in compelling the Chinese to keep their treaty obligations. The reason for the change was the discovery that the government of China was basically anti-foreign and thoroughly opposed to Westernization. Two papers dealt with earlier periods. Professor Carroll B. Malone, of Colorado College, discussed The Climax of Chinese Civilization in the Reign of Ch'ien Lung. He regarded Ch'ien Lung and his grandfather K'ang Hsi as two of the greatest rulers the world has ever seen. Both were thoroughly interested in the welfare of their people, and both were patrons of literature, philosophy, and the fine arts. A paper by Professor Thomas Edson Ennis, of West Virginia University, described the work of one of the French heroes of colonization, Pigneau de Béhaine, Bishop of Adran, who died in Cochin-China in 1799.

As one considers the phases of European history discussed at the meeting, one is impressed by the number of papers which dealt with the earlier, especially the medieval, periods. In the session on Medieval Culture the three papers were devoted to the work of Berthold of Regensburg, Bernward of Hildesheim, and to the ideals of the Christian prince as found in the *Specula Principis* of the Carolingian Renaissance. Professor Sydney M. Brown, of Lehigh University, dealt with Berthold's activities as a preacher against heretics, his "simple means" of discovering them, and his ingenious but disconcerting methods of rebutting their arguments. Bishop Bernward's artistic interests formed the principal theme of Dr. Francis J. Tschan, of Pennsylvania State College. Just how much the bishop did with his own hands, Dr. Tschan said, was uncertain, but he visited his workshops daily, directed the activities of his craftsmen, and personally cared for the training of talented boys. Dr. Tschan described in detail two of Bernward's works which remain, the bronze doors in the cathedral and a bronze column. The third speaker, Dr. Lester K. Born, of Western Reserve University, found the main significance of the *Specula Principis* in the place they take in the tradition of such treatises, which

began with Isocrates and come down to the eighteenth century.

The session on the Byzantine Empire also considered a medieval problem, Was Old Russia a Vassal State of Byzantium? Professor A. A. Vasiliev, of the University of Wisconsin, presented the paper and Professor John L. La Monte, of the University of Cincinnati, opened the discussion. Whatever theories may have been held in Constantinople, the Russian state of Kiev, said Professor Vasiliev, enjoyed actual independence up to the end of the tenth century. During this earlier period the two states entered into treaty relations, while later the treaties were discontinued. Later also a Greek metropolitan took up his residence in Kiev. These were only two of the many indications of change from independence to vassalage.

The papers that were presented by Dean G. C. Sellery, of the University of Wisconsin, and Professor Katharine J. Gallagher, of Goucher College, in the section on the Renaissance had also much to say about the characteristics of the medieval period. Dr. Sellery's subject was Non-Classical Contributions to the Humanism of the Renaissance, and he found that these contributions were made by the practical ideals of life in the Middle Ages. One indication was seen in the manner of living of all the French kings save Louis IX. He was such a contrast to the others that he became a saint and added a sanctity to royalty itself. Other more direct proofs are to be found, Dr. Sellery pointed out, in the literature of the Middle Ages, particularly in the Goliardic songs. Professor Gallagher had the interesting theme of Women in the Guilds of Florence during the Renaissance. Her work was based upon the manuscript records preserved in the libraries of Rome and Florence. She learned from those sources that by the fourteenth century women were sufficiently prominent in certain Florentine trades to deserve special instructions in Francesco Barberino's *Del Reggimento e Costumi delle Donne*. Miss Gallagher said that eight guilds showed a numerous enrollment of women: doctors and apothecaries, workers in silk, wool, linen, provisioners and oil merchants, innkeepers, bakers, and pastrymakers, and the combined guild of hucksters, clothing venders, and tailors. Although a few women rose to high places in the guilds, they crowded the less skilled trades and the lower levels of the more highly skilled occupations.

Most of us are aware of the transformation of Ancient history in consequence of the intensive campaigns carried on by archæological expeditions since the close of the World War. In the session on

Ancient history, Professor A. T. Olmstead, of the Oriental Institute, in a paper entitled The Ancient Near East and Beyond, showed what the implications of all this work must be for the historian. In the first place, he will need a more elaborate linguistic training, for the records are in many languages used by definite historical peoples. He will also have to be familiar with the scientific utilization of archæological material. Hitherto the history of the Greco-Roman Orient has been written from the standpoint of Greek and Roman history; now, remarked Professor Olmstead, we must consider Greek and Roman history from the Oriental standpoint, with reference to the great empires beyond the Euphrates. Another new point of view was presented by Dr. Allen D. Albert, of the Century of Progress Exposition, who, dealing with the subject of The Debt of the Modern City to the Ancients, emphasized the fact that the topographical pattern of modern cities, including the chief features of town-planning, are found in the cities of Babylonia as early as 3000 B.C. The third paper of the session, presented by Professor C. N. Cochrane, of the University of Toronto, was a highly suggestive discussion of the Augustinian Interpretation of History. Augustine was fundamentally opposed to the naturalism of the Greek and Roman thinkers. He achieved a philosophy of Christianity based upon the doctrine of personality. With him, Christians held firmly to the ground of inner experience. This, said Dr. Cochrane, introduces us to a world of spirits, and is the basis of the spiritual and subjective interpretation of history contained in the *City of God*.

Aspects of European Economic History was the general subject of one session, and the papers ranged over the centuries from the twelfth to the eighteenth. Professor Robert L. Reynolds, of the University of Wisconsin, with The Order of Business at the Fairs of Champagne as his topic, adduced evidence from Marseilles and Genoa to show that in spite of a definite cycle of trade which fixed the time when particular wares could be sold, merchants shipped goods in and out and overcame the obstacle in the rules to a rapid turnover. The speaker also said that the weight of general evidence seems to point to an advanced system of credits in operation by the late twelfth century. Another aspect of trade was discussed by Professor M. M. Knight, of the University of California, under the picturesque title of The Dry Wall of Islam and Europe's Economic Organization. The speaker said that the more durable successes of Islam have been in the great dry arc, from Morocco to Central Asia. The caravan

stages on all the routes before they reached Europe gave the "dry wall" its curious impermeability. Mr. Knight added that caravan transport was relatively efficient and cheap. His remarks gained weight because he had seen the camel in action in northern Africa and Arabia. Professor Waldemar Westergaard, of the University of California at Los Angeles, dealing with the Hansa Towns and Scandinavia on the Eve of Swedish Independence, explained that what finally brought Danzig into the anti-Danish combination, and so gave the Swedes their chance, was the outbreak of war between the Teutonic Order, the commercial rival of Danzig, and the king of Poland. The Hansa towns helped to put Gustavus Vasa on the Swedish throne, and deposed Christian II. of Denmark. The paper by Professor Lawrence A. Harper, of the University of California, discussed the value of the records of the Court of the Exchequer as a Source of Economic History for the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. A paper presented by Dr. Eugene N. Anderson, of the University of Chicago, in the section on Nineteenth Century Liberalism, belonged quite as much to this session, for it considered the Economic Aspects of Prussian Liberalism, 1857–1867. In it Dr. Anderson pointed out that in the 1860's economic conditions improved, while the government cut the basis from under the Liberal party, putting through the economic reorganization of Germany which the Liberals desired.

In the session on Modern European history a moratorium still ran for the discussion of the origins of the recent war. At Minneapolis the problems were taken from the course of the struggle itself, under the general title of the Military and Diplomatic Aspects of the World War. Professor F. Lee Benns, of Indiana University, considered the World War and Diplomacy in the Balkans in 1915. The same subject was discussed by Professor Harry N. Howard, of Miami University, in the session on Slavonic history, although Professor Howard concentrated his attention upon Bulgaria, while Professor Benns included Greece and Roumania. Both speakers agreed that it was the diverse and selfish aims of the Allies which caused the utter breakdown of their efforts. The story is not a pleasant one and Professor Benns well characterized the incidents as a diplomatic auction. Another element in the picture was sketched by Dr. H. A. De Weerd, of Denison University, with the subject of Lord Kitchener and the Dardanelles Campaign. Dr. De Weerd believed that Kitchener was hampered by the defective staff organization which he found upon his assumption of the War Office. Moreover, he was accustomed to

act directly, not through a complex organization. A later diplomatic incident, The Crisis in the Dual Alliance, was explained by Dr. Harold C. Deutsch, of the University of Minnesota, upon the basis of the revelations in the latest volume of American war documents and in the memoirs of Freiherr von Werkmann, the Emperor Karl's secretary. The most interesting point was the effort of President Wilson to detach Germany's chief ally. The promises made by England and France to Italy, Serbia, Roumania, and the new Poland stood in the way of success. In the Slavonic history session another paper, The Anglo-French Answer to the Treaty of Unkiar-Iskelessi, by Dr. Vernon J. Puryear, of Albany College, dealt with an earlier, but almost equally difficult and complex, period of Near Eastern relations.

Closely associated with the general field of Modern European history is Nineteenth Century England, which was the subject of a session. Here it was internal politics and the development of institutions which were discussed. Professor Herbert C. Bell, of Wesleyan University, in a paper on Palmerston and Parliamentary Representation, showed how the exigencies of party interests drove Palmerston to give up an opposition based on an intelligent fear of democracy. Palmerston believed that Parliament should represent a balance between great national interests, the agricultural interests on the one hand and commercial and industrial on the other. He also felt it to be dangerous to extend the franchise to the point where persons susceptible to bribery, intimidation, or subversive propaganda, in other words, persons lacking in both financial and intellectual independence, should have preponderance over those who voted independently and intelligently. English Local Judicature and the Movement for its Reform was the subject of a paper in which Professor Arthur L. Cross, of the University of Michigan, sought to indicate more exactly the share Lord Brougham had in the County Courts Act of 1846. By way of introduction he described the terrible abuses which characterized the local courts earlier in the century.

Another interesting session was the Joint Meeting of the History of Science Society and of the Association. The History of Science Society was fortunate in securing the presence of Dr. Henry E. Sigerist, of the Institute of the History of Medicine of Leipzig, who explained in an illuminating address the relations between the history of medicine and general history. Dr. John F. Fulton, of Yale University, presented a sketch of Robert Boyle and his Influence on Thought in

the Seventeenth Century. The president of the society, Dr. William H. Welch, closed the session with some comments on the Second International Congress of the History of Science and Technology.

Two sessions were given to the practical problems of coöperative effort in organizing and preserving the materials for research. One was a Round Table under the auspices of the American Council of Learned Societies, and the presiding officer was Dr. Solon J. Buck. Among those who took part were Dr. Victor Hugo Paltsits, of the New York Public Library, Dr. T. C. Blegen, of the University of Minnesota, and Professor S. F. Bemis, of George Washington University. The problem of preserving newspaper files brought out some interesting facts about the cost of filming sets of newspapers, a process which would mean immense saving in space. The Conference of State and Local Historical Societies, of which Dr. Guy Stanton Ford was the president, wrestled with the problem of coöperation among the societies. Dr. Blegen and Professor Bemis discussed the specific problem of Systematic Publication of Source Material by Historical Societies. Dr. Blegen was inclined to feel that the time was at hand when societies might formulate plans for regional publication in certain fields. He named the fur trade as a question which transcended state, even national, boundaries. He also explained what the Minnesota State Historical Society had been able to accomplish toward cooperation of societies within the state. A more comprehensive scheme of coöperative publication, suggested first by the late Dr. C. W. Alvord at the Charleston meeting of the Association, was urged by Professor Bemis. This would include inventories and calendars of material as well as selected documents or series of documents. Dr. Paltsits did not feel much enthusiasm for these schemes of coöperation, remarking that each state had its own historical problems. Dr. Buck was also impressed by the difficulties of any interstate plan of publication. At this session Dr. Verne E. Chatelain described the aims of the new National Park Historical Service. Dr. Alexander C. Flick was chosen president of the next conference.

The problems of the teacher also had their place in this meeting. A session was given to the college phases of the question, and Professor G. G. Andrews advocated earnestly greater attention on the part of the Association to them. Professor Arthur P. Scott, of the University of Chicago, at the Luncheon Conference of the National Council for the Social Studies, spoke on Experimenting with an Introductory Course in the Humanities. A special Conference of Representatives

of Teacher Training Institutions, over which Professor O. M. Dickerson, of Greeley, Colorado, presided, dealt with the question, What should be the Preliminary Training in Subject Matter and Professional Courses for Prospective Teachers of History in the Public Schools? For the senior high school a plan was sketched by Professor Elmer Ellis, of the University of Missouri, while the junior high school problem was discussed by Professor Howard C. Hill, of the University of Chicago. Professor Edgar B. Wesley, of the University of Minnesota, then presented the baffling situation created by the number and variety of Social Subjects Materials now included in what is termed the "teacher's load".

Much of stimulus and suggestion was to be found in the Joint Session of the National Council of Social Studies and the Association, for the papers were devoted to the methods of organization and instruction in the schools of Mexico, England, France, and Germany, and were presented by men intimately familiar with or educated in, these schools. Mr. Carlos E. Casteñada, of the University of Texas, who described the Teaching of History in the Schools of Mexico, mentioned the interesting fact that much of the teaching was done by professional men, who gave an hour or two a day to instruction in their favorite subject. This brings the schools into close contact with life. The description of the teaching of history in the newer Germany, given by Mr. Werner Neuse, of New York University, awakened much interest. This was also true of what Mr. Herbert Tout, of the University of Minnesota, said about English teaching, partly because of the debt American scholars owe to his father's memory. Professor O. W. Mosher, jr., of Kansas State Teachers College, spoke with force of the excellent examples set for us in the practice of the French schools.

Intellectual provender of an especially stimulating character was on the menu of the two great dinners of the meeting. The Mississippi Valley Historical Association and the Agricultural History Society joined in a dinner on Monday evening, the first day of the meeting. The two addresses of the occasion emphasized aspects of our national development hitherto not fully appreciated. Labor Costs as a Key to American History was the subject of Professor T. J. Wertenbaker, of Princeton University, while the Problem of the Agricultural Surplus was analyzed by Professor F. L. Paxson, of the University of Wisconsin. The excellent precedent of last year was followed at the annual dinner of the Association by arranging that the Presidential

Address of Professor Carl Becker should be the speech of the occasion. The readers of the *Review* have already enjoyed this address. It may not be out of place to remind the historians of the graver lesson it included for them. We do not, said Mr. Becker, "impose our version of the human story on Mr. Everyman; in the end it is rather Mr. Everyman who imposes his version on us—compelling us, in an age of political revolution, to see that history is past politics, in an age of social stress and conflict to search for the economic interpretation. If we remain too long recalcitrant Mr. Everyman will ignore us, shelving our recondite books behind glass doors rarely opened."

The business meeting of the Association was held on December 29, at the Minnesota Union, immediately after the luncheon given by the University. The note struck in the report of Professor Dexter Perkins was distinctly optimistic. Not only had the year's record in productive scholarship, furthered by the funds and committees of the Association, been impressive, but the Council had been able to present a budget which balances. The economies effected by the Board of Editors of this *Review* had been, the secretary generously remarked, "a vital factor" in making a balanced budget possible.

The secretary congratulated the Association upon the successful completion of so important a project as the *Guide to Historical Literature* and expressed to the committee in charge, and especially to Professor George M. Dutcher, the first chairman, and to Professor Henry R. Shipman, his successor, the Council's sense of the value of their achievement. The work of the committees administering the Beveridge Memorial Fund, the Littleton-Griswold Fund, and the Revolving Fund is going forward rapidly. The second volume on the Beveridge Memorial Fund is to be the *Papers of R. F. W. Allston on Plantation Affairs and Politics,* edited by Professor J. H. Easterby. A third is projected and will be an edition of the correspondence of Theodore D. Weld, Angelina Grimké Weld, and Sarah Grimké. Professor Gilbert H. Barnes and Professor Dwight L. Dumond will be the editors. On the Littleton-Griswold Fund, and well advanced toward publication, is a volume of cases from the Maryland Court of Appeals. A second volume is planned to include the judicial decisions of the Mayor's Court of New York. The publications under the Revolving Fund now number six volumes; three more are in press, and still another is approved. It should be added that the Bibliography of British History is virtually ready for the printers, and that the Bibliography of Travel will probably be completed in 1933.

Another important publication on the program is the *Annual Report* for 1930. Because of a more ample appropriation made by the last Congress this will include four volumes, the three in addition to the report proper to be *Notes from the Archives of Scotland concerning America,* a guide for the study of the British Colonies in the Caribbean, from 1763 to 1833, prepared by Professor L. J. Ragatz, and the diary of Edward Bates, Attorney-General in the Cabinet of President Lincoln.

The secretary also reported that the Committee on Radio, under the chairmanship of Professor John A. Krout, has elaborated a program of lectures dealing particularly with the period of the Revolution. The work of the Commission on the Social Studies in the Schools has three of its series of reports ready for the press. Under the auspices of the Public Archives Commission, of which Mr. A. R. Newsome is chairman, there is planned for 1932 a pamphlet on the preservation of county and other local records which will be sent to all clerks of such local subdivisions to promote the safeguarding of material.

The secretary next explained the survey of projects of research material which had come to him in answer to a questionnaire sent out at the suggestion of the Council. The results of these questionnaires were studied by a committee on the planning of research which has been operating during the past year. This important committee together with five subcommittees working under a grant from the Social Science Research Council and the American Council of Learned Societies has prepared an elaborate report which will be published during the coming year.

Equally interesting was the secretary's review of the enterprises now carried on by the American Council of Learned Societies and the Social Science Research Council in both of which the Association is represented. The rapid increase in the historical publications of the government, especially the beginning of the new series of Treaties of the United States, is encouraging.

The secretary read a list of those members who had died during the past year. He also presented memorials to Professor Edward Channing, Dr. H. B. Learned, and Dr. Allen Johnson.

The most important business transacted at the meeting was the adoption of the following amendment:

Art. VII. There Shall Be a Board of Trustees, five in number, consisting of a chairman and four other members, nominated by the Council and elected at the annual meeting of the Association. The Trustees elected

in 1931 shall serve respectively, as determined by lot, for one, two, three, four, and five years. Subsequent elections shall be in all cases for five years, except in the case of elections to complete unexpired terms. No investments of any of the permanent funds of the Association shall be made or changed except with the advice and consent of a majority of the trustees. The liability of the individual members of the Board shall be limited to good faith in the discharge of the duties resting upon them.

Article VII. becomes Article IX.

The trustees chosen were: Conyers Read, chairman; Raymond N. Ball, Guy Emerson, Fairfax Harrison, and Thomas I. Parkinson.

The following awards of prizes were announced: the George Louis Beer Prize, to O. J. Hale, of the University of Virginia, for his study of *Germany and the Diplomatic Revolution: a Study in Diplomacy and the Press, 1904–1906;* the Herbert Baxter Adams Prize, to Vernon J. Puryear, of Albany College, for his *England, Russia, and the Straits Question;* and the John H. Dunning Prize, to Francis B. Simkins, of State Teachers College, Farmville, Virginia, and R. H. Woody, of Duke University, for their essay on South Carolina during the Reconstruction Period.

The officers chosen for 1932 are: Herbert E. Bolton, president; Charles A. Beard, first vice president; William E. Dodd, second vice president; Dexter Perkins, secretary; and C. E. McGuire, treasurer. The two new members of the Council are Sidney B. Fay and Bernadotte E. Schmitt.

The next meeting of the Association will be held in Toronto.

H. E. B.

EXTRACTS FROM THE MINUTES OF THE MEETINGS OF THE COUNCIL OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION, NOVEMBER 23, DECEMBER 28, 1931

Voted:

That this Association express its appreciation for the sympathetic interest which the Honorable the Secretary of State has shown in his endeavors, through the office of the Historical Adviser, to advance the publication of the several documentary series: *Foreign Relations; Treaties of the United States* (Miller edition); *Papers in Washington concerning the Territories.* The publication of these documents will disseminate for the use of scholars and publicists instructive material for a better understanding of American history and international affairs.

That this Association also express its belief that the time has now come when it would no longer be incompatible with the public interest to publish a complete documentary history of American diplomacy during the Peace Conference, and the peace settlements of the United States thereafter, in termination of American participation in the World War.

To name two delegates to represent the Association in the International Committee of Historical Sciences in 1932.

To name a representative of the Association in the International Commission of Colonial History.

To appoint a committee of three to prepare the participation of the United States in the Seventh International Congress of the Historical Sciences, to be held in Warsaw, 1933, with power, in the name of the Association, to invite, examine, accept or reject American contributions to the scientific program of the Congress.

To convene a special meeting of the Association in Washington in the spring of 1932.

To accept the report of Professor John A. Krout, chairman of the Committee on Radio, outlining a list of talks on "The Age of Washington", and to authorize him to arrange for speakers.

ITEMS FROM THE TREASURER'S REPORT

Receipts and Expenditures, balanced at		$145,060.84
Receipts:		
Annual dues		15,200.07
Contributions, including life memberships		10,860.48
Interest		14,349.61
On Unrestricted Funds	$7,432.80	
Albert J. Beveridge Memorial Fund	4,175.00	
Littleton-Griswold Fund	1,250.00	
Special Grants:		
Carnegie Corporation of New York for Commission on the Social Studies		70,000.00
Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial for International Committee of Historical Sciences		4,000.00
American Council of Learned Societies for Bibliography of Travel		2,250.00
Social Science Research Council for "List of Diplomatic Agents"		550.00
Expenditures, chief items:		
Secretary and Treasurer		6,868.20
Committees of Management (Council, etc.)		2,803.05
Historical Activities (Commissions, Revolving Fund, etc.)		13,333.67
Commission on Social Studies		61,822.52
International Committee of Historical Sciences		4,000.00
Bibliography of Travel		1,807.29
American Historical Review (Copies to members)		9,028.72
(Editorial expenses)		5,000.00
Cash on deposit		42,844.09

BUDGET FOR 1932
(As voted by the Association, December 29, 1931)

Receipts Available for General Purposes	
Annual dues	$15,200.00
Registration fees	300.00
Miscellaneous	100.00
Interest on deposits, temporary balances, investments, etc.	8,500.00
Estimated balance in budget of the *American Historical Review*	910.00
	$25,010.00
Expenditures for General Purposes	
Secretary and Treasurer	$7,000.00
Pacific Coast Branch	450.00
Committees of Management (Nominations, Membership, Program, Local Arrangements, etc.)	600.00
Council	700.00
Editorial service, *Annual Report*	700.00
Contingent Fund	200.00
Bibliography of Modern British History	300.00
Conference of Historical Societies	25.00
Public Archives Commission	400.00
Writings on American History	500.00
Dues (American Council of Learned Societies)	75.00
Bibliography of Travel (unexpended balance)	327.62
Prizes (Adams)	200.00
American Historical Review (copies)	9,050.00
(Editorial expenses)	4,540.00
	$25,067.62
Receipts for projects relating to international affairs and international coöperation	
Andrew D. White Fund	$650.18
Expenditures for International Committee of Historical Sciences:	
Commission on Constitutions	$ 75.00
Expenses of one delegate to 1932 meeting of International Committee of Historical Sciences	100.00
Contribution to International Committee of Historical Sciences Bulletin	25.00
Associate membership dues in International Committee of Historical Sciences	100.00
International Yearbook of Historical Bibliography	200.00
	$500.00
Estimated balance, 1933	$150.18

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Committee on Program for American Participation in the International Congress of Historical Sciences, 1933: Waldo G. Leland, 703 Insurance Building, Washington, D. C., chairman; Carlton J. H. Hayes, J. F. Willard.

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THE FRENCH COMMUNE AND THE ENGLISH BOROUGH[1]

For the student of medieval society and institutions the commune has been held to possess peculiar significance. What the town was to the ordinary village the commune was to the ordinary town. Standing at the forefront of the emancipated classes, the standard bearer of the rising third estate, the commune epitomized the bourgeois ambition. Not only had its citizens individually attained the highest possible non-noble status; collectively they had actually passed beyond that order. For the commune was a *seigneurie,* a member of the feudal hierarchy. In its history the career of the peasant is found legally merged with that of the vassal.

This attractive theory, which has appeared in countless books, owed its popularity to Luchaire, but was in part originated by Giry, the first scholarly historian of the medieval French town. The development of the idea in the writings of the two authors is in itself a good subject for study, but one that demands lengthier discussion than is here possible.[2] To introduce the subject in hand—a brief

[1] This paper, standing as it was read at the meeting of the American Historical Association in 1930, is a condensation into very narrow scope of much scattered material. Many of the statements that it contains could not, for lack of space, be justified in the text. And since these statements frequently deal with certain widely accepted opinions, it has seemed necessary somewhat to overload the footnotes. In a book which is now nearing completion an effort will be made to correct the balance and to give more adequate treatment to many subjects here summarily passed over. Throughout the notes the following abbreviations will be used: *E.H.R.* for *English Historical Review;* B.B.C. for *British Borough Charters,* vol. I., Adolphus Ballard, ed. (Cambridge, 1913), vol. II., James Tait, ed. (Cambridge, 1923); *H.E.L.* for Sir Frederick Pollock and F. W. Maitland's *History of English Law before the Time of Edward I.* (Cambridge, 1899).

[2] One who attempts a comparison of the passages noted below can hardly fail to be amazed at finding so much contradiction and so little fact. What may be called a feudal theory of the commune appears indistinctly in A. Giry's first book, *Histoire de la Ville de Saint-Omer* (Paris, 1877), pp. 42, 54, 81, 152; is definitely stated in the second, *Les Établissements de Rouen* (Paris, 1883), I. 439 ff.; and is repeated with variations in *La Grande Encyclopédie,* article, Communes, and in ch. VII. of Lavisse et Rambaud, *Histoire Générale,* vol. II. In this last work the theory (pp. 440 ff.) harmonizes badly with the description of the communal revolution as an international phenomenon due to economic causes (pp. 418 ff.). But perhaps Réville was responsible for the latter feature. Meanwhile, A. Luchaire had published his *Histoire des Institutions Monarchiques de la France sous les Premiers Capétiens* (first ed., Paris, 1883; second ed., Paris, 1891); *Les Communes Françaises* (Paris, 1890); and *Manuel des Institutions Françaises* (Paris, 1892). The first of these books hardly did more than develop the idea of the commune

reconsideration of the French commune and its influence in England—less thorough analysis must serve. It will, in fact, be sufficient to summarize the established doctrine as finally presented by Luchaire.

According to the famous *Manuel des Institutions Françaises,* medieval French towns fell into two primary groups: *villes franches* and *villes libres.* Between the two, so far as social and economic privilege was concerned, there was no difference. Nor was the basis of the distinction political autonomy, for many of the *villes franches* had more complete self-government than some of the *villes libres.* The mark of the really free town was the sworn association that gave it the feudal status of a *seigneurie collective.*[3]

In deriving the commune from the Teutonic guild and in recognizing Italian influence upon the consulate, Giry still followed Thierry,[4] but in general Luchaire minimized the significance of such foreign elements. The communal revolution, he insisted, was truly "un événement national". Although the word "consulate" was borrowed from Italy, the institution was indigenous; it was merely the commune under another name. Nor was there anything essentially Germanic in the principle of the guild. The rise of the French towns, whether *villes libres* or *villes franches,* was but one phase of the political and social reaction engendered by the excesses of the feudal system. To affirm more was impossible; the problem of municipal origins, for lack of evidence, must remain insoluble.[5]

Now in spite of the vogue enjoyed by Luchaire's argument, careful analysis tends to raise immediate doubts as to its accuracy. In the first place, the heterogeneous class of *villes franches* is distinguished solely

as a sworn association. The second and third presented the commune as primarily a member of the feudal hierarchy. But in applying the theory to all sworn communes Luchaire departed from Giry, who had formulated it with reference chiefly to the Norman communes. These, he said, were deliberately founded by the dukes to secure military forces and centers of defense. In that they resembled fiefs. Like vassals they were bound to their lord by an oath of fealty, and so radically differed from the ordinary sworn commune of the north. The weakness of this argument has recently been shown by Mr. S. R. Packard in the Haskins *Anniversary Essays in Mediaeval History* (Boston, 1929), pp. 231 ff. Personally, I should be inclined to treat it with even less respect. See below, n. 9.

[3] Luchaire, *Manuel,* pp. 378 ff., 393, 402.

[4] A. Thierry, *Considérations sur l'Histoire de France,* ch. VI. By rejecting Thierry's argument that all privileged towns were members of the feudal hierarchy, Giry made the representation of the *bonnes villes* in the Estates harder to explain than ever. See the articles cited below, n. 9.

[5] *Communes Françaises,* pp. 1–25; *Manuel,* pp. 406–409, 430. The vagueness in these statements is Luchaire's.

by the allegation that they were not *villes libres,* and this latter group is by no means clear-cut. The inclusion of the consulates, in particular, looks like an afterthought. According to Luchaire, the consulates were essentially the same as communes, but many towns with consuls were merely *villes franches.* For it was only the "great consular republics" that were based on sworn associations—a statement for which he cites no evidence, and for which apparently none exists.[6] The true center of the theory is obviously the northern commune, whose services are alone described as those of a vassal.[7]

On this crucial point Luchaire's enumeration at first glance seems imposing, but what does it really amount to? After all, to assert that a commune was a vassal and then designate its obligations as feudal may be arguing in a circle. Self-governing towns regularly swore oaths of fealty to their lords and in return got solemn promises of protection.[8] All towns were normally exempt from arbitrary taxation and military service. If the communes occasionally furnished troops or money to their lords, so did the others, and in exactly the same way. The militia of Soissons was no more feudal than that of Bourges; the aids of Laon were no more feudal than those of Lorris.[9] Was the *ville franche* less of a fortress than the *ville libre?* Did all communes, and they alone, have seals and belfries? Did they come to hold land, administer property, make grants, issue ordinances, collect local taxes in any fashion peculiar to themselves?

M. Pirenne says that they did not. He denies that towns called communes were in any essential distinct from the rest.[10] His reasoning cuts through all of Luchaire's major premises. Surely the time

[6] *Manuel,* pp. 430, 407, n. 2. The insurrectionary commune hardly appears in southern France at all; the consulates there arose peaceably and with the support of their lords. See in particular, P. Viollet, *Les Communes Françaises au Moyen Age* (Paris, 1900), p. 57; E. C. Lodge, in *Cambridge Mediaeval History,* V. 640.

[7] *Manuel,* pp. 413–414.

[8] Luchaire's statement concerning the commune's "véritable serment de foi et hommage" never rested on more than two or three thirteenth century examples cited by Giry, and these affirmed only fealty, which, as Luchaire himself insisted (*ibid.,* p. 186), was essentially distinct from homage. "A proprement parler, le fidèle est le *sujet.*" *Cf.* the oath sworn at the founding of Freiburg-im-Breisgau in 1120: F. Keutgen, *Urkunden zur Städtischen Verfassungsgeschichte* (Berlin, 1901), p. 117. On being authorized to elect magistrates in 1200, the men of Ipswich took a common oath and adopted a common seal (below, n. 31).

[9] See my articles in *Le Moyen Age,* XXIV. 6, 10, and the Haskins *Anniversary Essays,* pp. 296 ff.

[10] *Cambridge Mediaeval History,* VI. 518 ff.; *Les Villes du Moyen Age* (Brussels, 1926), ch. VII.

has passed when the rise of the French towns can properly be treated as a by-product of French feudalism; the communal revolution as a mere episode in national history. And other ideas made to fit that concept should not be regarded with an obsolete reverence.

To decide the original nature of the commune, juristic definition is quite inadequate.[11] If we wish to understand the significance of the institution during the formative period, we must determine what the word meant in the early twelfth century. Nor is the task a formidable one. The relevant sources are plentiful and on the whole they give us clear information. Like the familiar *universitas,* the Latin equivalents of the English "commune" bear two sets of interpretations: one general and the other specific. So *communa, communia,* or *communio* are often interchangeable with *communitas.*[12] On the other hand, from the eleventh century onward the same words are increasingly given the special meaning, more or less sinister, of a sworn association. As applied to the Peace of God such usage is, of course, without evil implication, but when employed by clerical annalists to refer to combinations against authority, *communa* and its variants become synonymous with *coniuratio* or *conspiratio,* and this is especially true in the case of urban insurrection.[13]

Thus we hear that the men of Cambrai in 1076 swore a commune (*iuraverunt communiam*), which was put down; that later they conspired again and temporarily secured a communal charter (*communionis cartula*), which was quashed in 1107. Within the next few years Laon, Amiens, Noyon, Saint-Quentin, Beauvais, Vézelai, and other places witnessed similar disturbances. Sometimes the risings failed and sometimes they succeeded. In the latter case the sworn association and the liberties that it demanded were perpetuated under written guarantees. More or less permanent communes were established. To Guibert de Nogent and other writers of his class the chief

[11] It is, of course, permissible, with Viollet (*op. cit.*), to define the commune as a town possessing corporate entity and to write an essay accordingly. Or we may even make the term apply to any privileged town. But such assumptions, however convenient, can not lay claim to historical validity.

[12] A well-known example is the *communa totius terre* of Magna Carta, art. 61. On this and other meanings of the word, see Du Cange under Commune. In southern France and Italy *universitas* was often used for an urban community.

[13] The examples are too familiar to require detailed citation. The most important are quoted in Du Cange and in K. Hegel, *Städte und Gilden der Germanischen Völker im Mittelalter* (Leipzig, 1891), vol. II. For analysis and comparison of the charters, which often reproduce portions of the communal oath, Luchaire's account remains good. See also H. Pirenne, *Villes du Moyen Age,* p. 176.

object of such iniquitous movements was to free serfs and rob the Church of its revenue, but the victorious commune usually resulted in much more than that. Against the inflexible hostility of an ecclesiastical lord half-way measures were of no avail. The insurgents secured autonomy or nothing. So the word "commune" by the later twelfth century acquired its ultimate meaning of a self-governing town.

In this connection various points deserve emphasis. Except when created by imitation of an earlier establishment, the commune was normally the product of conflict.[14] Scores of towns secured the widest of municipal privileges through the liberality, indifference, or powerlessness of their rulers, and in them the sworn association, if it existed at all, played a minor rôle.[15] Whatever came to be argued by thirteenth century lawyers, the term originally bore no reference to one especial status. Essentially it was not a particular group of franchises, but a means of obtaining them. Medieval towns fell into two main classes, those of ordinary privilege and those of more advanced privilege, but the true mark of the latter was self-government, not communal rank.[16]

That the foregoing discussion has a direct bearing upon English municipal history is obvious to any student of the subject, for the connection between the commune and the borough has been taken up by many famous authors. First to appreciate the importance of the subject was Stubbs, but his comments were vague and his conclusions halting.[17] The real pioneer in the field was Round. Brilliantly re-

[14] This was also true in regions outside France and the Low Countries. *Cf.* the *coniuratio pro libertate* at Cologne in 1112: R. Koebner, *Die Anfänge des Gemeinwesens der Stadt Köln* (Bonn, 1922), p. 270. In the Lombard cities *coniurationes* definitely appeared during the civil war of 1035–1037 (C. W. Previté-Orton, in *Cambridge Mediaeval History*, V. 217).

[15] In Flanders, where the counts had commonly favored municipal liberty, the sworn commune first appeared during the troubled period following the murder of Charles the Good (Pirenne, in *Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire*, V. 417). Although the *communio quam iuraverunt* is mentioned in the charter of 1127, Saint-Omer was not permanently called a commune (Giry, *Saint-Omer*, pp. 165 ff.).

[16] The terms *villes franches* and *villes libres* are not satisfactory, for the *franchise* of the former was shared by the latter, and was itself a form of liberty.

[17] Stubbs understood the commune to have been a perfected municipality or incorporated town, secured at London by insurrection (*Select Charters*, eighth ed., p. 308). But the commune was only "the old English guild in a new French garb" (*Constitutional History of England*, sixth ed., I. 459), and in so far as the guild had become identified with the borough government, it exercised usurped authority (*ibid.*, pp. 453–455). Municipal self-government was really derived from the village. And yet, in another connection, he says (*ibid.*, p. 446) that the acquisition of the *firma burgi* turned a township or guild into a *communio*, "a partnership or corporate society".

writing the entire history of Norman London, that keen scholar advanced the argument that the year 1191 opened a new epoch in the history of the English towns. It was the recognition of the London commune, he contended, that gave the city its first true municipality—a corporate constitution patterned after that of Rouen. The mayoralty and council that spread throughout the Anglo-Saxon world were French importations.[18]

Since its presentation in 1899, Round's thesis has been subjected to considerable criticism. George Burton Adams attempted to supplement it by applying the theory of the commune to the taxation of London, but his argument has met with scant favor and must be rejected as baseless.[19] Mary Bateson's suggestions have fared better. Since her publication of new evidence in 1902 it has been at least difficult to believe that London's medieval constitution was remodeled in imitation of the Rouen *Établissements*.[20] But the extent to which it was influenced by the commune in general has remained an open question, to be treated among others by Mr. James Tait, whose recent publications on the borough so admirably continue work begun when Maitland was in his prime.

Throughout his writings Mr. Tait has been interested, as all students of the medieval English town must be, in two dominant concepts: the borough and the commune. Of them the former now begins to take on clear outlines. So far as the newer boroughs are concerned, Mr. Tait agrees with Maitland that the one essential prerequisite was the establishment of the freedom connected with burgage tenure. All other privileges, even separate judicial organization, were at most secondary. With regard to the "great boroughs of immemorial origin", on the other hand, Mr. Tait is not so sure.[21] In such cases he guardedly suggests Gross's view as being perhaps preferable: that

[18] J. H. Round, *Geoffrey de Mandeville* (London, 1892), pp. 347 ff.; *The Commune of London* (London, 1899), pp. 219 ff.

[19] G. B. Adams, *The Origin of the English Constitution* (second ed., New Haven, 1920), pp. 385 ff. Adams's entire argument rested on the assertion by Giry and Luchaire that communes paid only feudal aids; see the Haskins *Anniversary Essays*, pp. 296, 305, and below, nn. 46, 52, 55.

[20] *E.H.R.*, XVII. 480 ff.; C. Petit-Dutaillis, and G. Lefebvre, *Studies and Notes Supplementary to Stubbs' Constitutional History* (Manchester, 1930), pp. 91 ff.; and the recent articles of Mr. Tait cited below.

[21] Tait, Liber Burgus, in *Essays in Mediaeval History presented to Thomas Frederick Tout* (Manchester, 1925), pp. 79 ff. The late thirteenth century charters cited by Mr. Tait as to some extent bearing out Gross's conclusion are neither clear nor convincing; and in any case could have little significance for the meaning of *burgus* 175 years earlier. Of infinitely greater importance are the Beverley charters (*ibid.*, pp. 94 ff.).

a variety of institutions were implied in the phrase *liber burgus*. But when new boroughs were formed, did not the older boroughs serve as models?

In answering this question the following consideration would seem to have caused trouble: many places had been boroughs long before there was any burgage tenure; so a later charter to one of them could only confirm what had made it a borough in the beginning. However, as I have endeavored to show in a previous article,[22] *burgensis* in Domesday did not denote a status. The old Anglo-Saxon borough was not a privileged community. Until the necessities of mercantile society had produced a new uniformity of tenure and citizenship, there was no *liber burgus*. Indeed, there was no *burgus* in the later sense of the word, for, as Mr. Tait shows, in the twelfth century all boroughs were free boroughs.[23]

According to the nature of their foundation, the boroughs may thus be divided into two groups: new and old, those created by charter and those whose charters merely confirmed ancient liberties. But fundamentally there was no difference. In so far as they were both boroughs, Beverley and York were the same. Nor did the Channel mark any true line of differentiation, for on the two sides bourgeois status was identical.[24] In both regions, moreover, social and economic freedom tended to produce a demand for local self-govern-

[22] The Anglo-Saxon Borough, *E.H.R.*, XLV. 177 ff.

[23] Mr. Tait has emphasized the fact that we must understand burgage as being more than just a tenure. As he points out (pp. 93 ff.), the *burgagium* of Henry I.'s charter to Beverley was the equivalent of the liberties and customs, or law, of York. "The privileged status of a great and ancient town like York could be summed up in the same term 'free burgage' as was applied to new mesne boroughs." "The *liber burgus* formula was . . . merely an adaptation of an older and less convenient formula", *i.e., liberum burgagium*. But if in that concept "the free tenement at a money rent was the most fundamental element", what becomes of Gross's thesis, or of Mr. Tait's own distinction between new and old boroughs? It should be noted that the *burgagium* of England and Normandy was merely the equivalent of the *ius fori, consuetudo urbana, Burgrecht, Weichbild*, etc., of other regions; see the following note.

[24] Pirenne, *Villes du Moyen Age*, pp. 171 ff.; G. Des Marez, *Étude sur la Propriété Foncière dans les Villes du Moyen Age* (Ghent, 1898); S. Rietschel, *Markt und Stadt* (Leipzig, 1897), pp. 135 ff.; R. Génestal, *La Tenure en Bourgage* (Paris, 1900); M. de W. Hemmeon, *Burgage Tenure in Mediaeval England* (Cambridge, Mass., 1914). The Continental authors cited above, though differing on minor points, are agreed on fundamentals. Hemmeon, after stigmatizing their work on the problem of origins as "profitless ploughing of desert sands" (p. 9), himself set up a highly imaginative theory based on little besides the doctrines of the Maurer-Below school; see *E.H.R.*, XLV. 185 ff. A fuller discussion of some of the points involved will be found in *Methods in Social Science* (Chicago, 1931), pp. 368 ff. Note also the very recent work by Mr. E. W. W. Veale, *Burgage Tenure in Mediaeval Bristol* (Bristol Record Society, 1931).

ment, and to the extent that it received satisfaction, an upper class of towns arose, characterized by some degree of political autonomy.

How very exceptional such boroughs were in the twelfth century has been made clear by the work of Ballard, now greatly supplemented by that of Mr. Tait. At the death of Henry II. only five royal towns were farming their own revenues, and so far as the evidence of the charters goes, none had an elected magistracy. It was not till the reigns of Richard and John that the boroughs with any frequency gained control of any part of their administration, but by 1216 at least a dozen places had been authorized to elect reeves or bailiffs, and twice as many had received the fee-farm.[25]

Mr. Tait's conclusions, however, involve not only these facts, but various generalizations that also touch the Continent, and which seem to have questionable validity. The history of the English borough, he says, reveals the gradually developing *communitas,* rather than the revolutionary *communa,* the full-blown *seigneurie collective* of France. Nevertheless, the latter did exert very considerable influence upon the borough constitution. The election of mayors, as distinguished from royal officials like bailiffs, the organization of regular councils, as contrasted with old courts turned to new functions, and the beginning of formal incorporation were all due to the example of the foreign commune. Round's thesis, though wrong in several details, was fundamentally sound.[26]

To give adequate treatment to such large issues as those raised by Mr. Tait is impossible in the present study. All that may here be attempted is to review the subject and indicate various points which appear to stand in need of restatement. One is, of course, the commune. Mr. Tait's concept is that of Luchaire, to which the preceding discussion takes sharp exception. If that is well founded, further speculation as to the feudal status of any commune in England would seem distinctly unprofitable.[27] Moreover, if we dissociate the com-

[25] *B.B.C.*, I. 221, 241; Ballard, *The English Borough in the Twelfth Century*, pp. 21 ff.; Tait, The *Firma Burgi* and the Commune in England, *E.H.R.*, XLII. 350 ff. But see below, n. 40.

[26] *E.H.R.*, XLII. 353, 358 ff.; The Origin of Town Councils in England, *E.H.R.*, XLIV. 177 ff., 192 ff.; The Borough Community in England, *E.H.R.*, XLV. 529 ff., 545 ff.

[27] In the feudal age all sorts of ideas were likely to be expressed in the more or less suitable language of feudalism. Liberties might be granted in fee to a town or to the freemen of England (*H.E.L.*, I. 674). A borough farmed by the burgesses was said to be held in chief of the king—a usage that according to Luchaire's definition should have implied a commune, but certainly did not (Tait, in *E.H.R.*, XLII. 352).

mune from any one form of government, Round's thesis concerning the London municipality loses its remaining substance, and the question of incorporation must be approached from another angle.

Comparative study of urban institutions proves that no great significance can be attached to titles. Neither function nor origin distinguished mayors from magistrates with other names.[28] Mayors were not peculiar to communes, and all communes did not have mayors. They were no less royal or seigniorial than other officials. When an English borough substituted a mayor for a reeve or bailiffs, little seems to have been changed besides the name.[29] Nor is it possible, without appeal to arbitrary logic, rigidly to define a municipal council. As M. Pirenne has pointed out, the normal system in the early town was government by a group of variously designated selectmen, out of which administrative chiefs, special courts, and legislative bodies were eventually developed.[30] How can we be sure that any given English council was a sudden innovation made under foreign influence?

In this connection a famous record of 1200 seems to give clear evidence.[31] By royal charter, Ipswich had been authorized, like various other boroughs, to elect reeves and coroners. Whereupon the townsmen proceeded to name two bailiffs and four coroners, but two

[28] *Maior* and *praepositus* were the two commonest names for a domanial agent. Such an official, on being elected by the town, became a municipal magistrate. The actual degree of his authority depended, not on his title, but on local circumstance. And in this respect the communes differed in no way from other self-governing towns. The notion that the mayor was more of a communal and less of a princely representative is based solely on *a priori* definition of the commune. See especially, Viollet, *Communes Françaises,* pp. 60 ff.

[29] *B.B.C.,* I. 241 ff.; II. 351 ff. These charters, together with the evidence of the Pipe Rolls and other documents (below, n. 31), certainly prove that it made no difference whether a borough had one or more chief magistrates, or whether they were called reeves or bailiffs. Furthermore, Mr. Tait has himself shown (*B.B.C.,* II. lvii) that, except for London's grant of 1215, no extant charter authorized an English borough to elect a mayor before 1284; but that at least a dozen towns had "copied London and provided themselves with mayors" before the death of John—most of them, in fact, before 1215 (*E.H.R.,* XLIV. 198). Are we to believe that revolutions in legal status were thus effected, and without formal authorization, or that a mere change of fashion in titles took place? See below, n. 41.

[30] *Villes du Moyen Age,* ch. VII. The usual names were *échevins, jurés, pairs, consuls, syndics,* and *capitouls.* Generally they constituted a governing board endowed with all powers—a combined court and council. In so far as a chief officer appeared in the early period, he was merely a presiding member of the group.

[31] Charles Gross, *The Gild Merchant,* II. 116 ff. For comment, see *ibid.,* I. 23 ff.; *H.E.L.,* I. 658, 664.

of the latter were also the bailiffs. It was then decided to have, as in other free boroughs of England, twelve sworn chief portmen to govern the town, render judgments, and do whatever needed to be done. The twelve chosen included the four bailiffs and coroners, and among them all they eventually shared fourteen offices in the town and in the guild merchant.

This is a straightforward account with many features that testify to its authenticity.[32] If what it says was true—and there is no conflicting evidence—the governmental custom of the early borough was exactly that of the twelfth century town on the Continent. Whether the portmen of Ipswich constituted a municipal council and, if so, how they differed from a mayor with discreet associates, may be left for argument by those so inclined. To King John one may doubt that it was a matter of great interest. What would seem a much more important problem concerns the obscure practices that led up to the formal establishment of borough self-government.

Having been drawn into such an inquiry through the study of Domesday Book,[33] I became convinced that English municipal institutions could be shown to have sprung rather from mercantile than from judicial organization. In one of his recent articles Mr. Tait has now entirely corroborated that supposition.[34] He has demonstrated that even Gross, because he continued to see in the borough an old community centering in an old court, underestimated the significance of the guild merchant. The exaggerations of older writers were, after all, founded upon one truth: that from the outset the town was practically, if not legally, a union of men living through trade. The guild, so liberally fostered by kings who dreaded urban autonomy, is revealed as doing in England what it had done in Flanders—building a local

[32] The document is preserved in a fourteenth century copy and is therefore not above suspicion. Mr. Tait, on the ground of inherent improbability, is inclined to reject parts of the account as later interpolations (*E.H.R.*, XLIV. 183, n. 1). But there is no reason why the phrase *alii liberi burgi* should be translated "all free boroughs". Similar practice in the few towns then authorized to elect magistrates would be enough to justify the expression. Whether called *capitales portmenni* or not, there were henceforth twelve *iurati* (*jurez, jurates*) at Ipswich, and they governed the town. What Mr. Tait hesitates to accept is, of course, this very inauguration of group administration from the outset; but, to my mind, that is the opposite of a suspicious feature. *Cf.* below, n. 41.

[33] *E.H.R.*, XLV. 190 ff.

[34] *E.H.R.*, XLV. 529 ff. Mr. Tait, together with most British historians, has earlier championed the Maurer-Below theory of borough origins; see *Methods in Social Science*, p. 378.

community fit to assume political responsibility.[35] With Mary Bateson we may still say that judicial institutions must not be neglected in accounting for the borough's governmental evolution, but the alleged continuity of the borough court from Anglo-Saxon to Norman times appears a vastly overrated factor.[36] What evidence there is tends to prove that the lawmen of the Domesday boroughs played no part in later municipal history,[37] and the persistence of isolated customs, such as forms of procedure, must have been entirely outweighed by the growth of new and revolutionary features.[38]

[35] Pirenne, *Villes du Moyen Age*, pp. 164 ff., and in *Revue Historique*, LVII. 82–86. No doubt Maitland was right in holding that the court legally constituted the borough for official purposes (*H.E.L.*, I. 638 ff.; *B.B.C.*, I. cii), but in terms of practical politics what was the court? Either in the small routine session or in the full mass-meeting real power lay with the prominent citizens (see the very instructive example at Ipswich, above, n. 31). And we can not doubt that in all matters involving a financial offer to the crown these *potentiores* were the leading merchants of the guild. The court in the churchyard merely registered what had been decided by caucus in the guildhall. *Cf.* the proceedings at Oxford cited by Mr. Tait in *E.H.R.*, XLV. 531. Even in towns that had no guild the great business men held control of the administration.

[36] *E.H.R.*, XLV. 196 ff. The emergence of a true municipal court, as distinguished from an ancient territorial court held in the borough, is marked by the guarantee to burgesses of trial within the borough. This privilege appears in Henry I.'s charter to London at about the same time that it was being secured by many other towns (*B.B.C.*, I. 115 ff.; Pirenne, *Villes du Moyen Age*, pp. 174, 178). It implied that a special form of justice was there obtainable; that the local court, whether or not headed by an elected official, was controlled by townsmen. Although an old name, such as hundred, might continue, the institution was eventually revolutionized.

[37] Domesday pictures the lawmen as members of the landed aristocracy, with a dignity that tended to be hereditary or to be attached to certain properties. Although the later borough court might continue to use groups of judgment-finders, they would inevitably come to be chosen from the merchant class. As the older lawmen were superseded, their office, if it persisted, would become a forgotten honor. This, at any rate, was the fate of the Stamford lawmen as recorded in the Hundred Rolls (Maitland, *Domesday Book and Beyond*, p. 211; Ballard, *The Domesday Boroughs*, p. 52). Connection between the lawmen and the wards of a borough is hardly indicated by Domesday. At Stamford there were twelve of the former and six of the latter; at York there were eight *iudices* and seven shires (*ibid.*, p. 54).

[38] As Mary Bateson wrote in 1906 (*Borough Customs*, II. xviii), borough law combined some progressive innovation with much archaic usage, and both features were dictated by the selfish interests of the burgess class. How new in tenure and institutions boroughs might be she had eloquently demonstrated in her article, The Laws of Breteuil (*E.H.R.*, XVI. 335 ff.), and how close in this respect was the relationship of England to the Continent she was among the first to appreciate. Nevertheless, while compiling her volumes for the Selden Society, it was the continuity of borough custom and primitive custom that seems to have fascinated her. The continuity no one will dispute, but was it not principally a continuity of form? And by stressing the form did she not somewhat neglect the spirit? The problem deserves reëxamination by a specialist.

To supplement the instances of community action cited by Mr. Tait a few considerations may be offered that are as yet in the conjectural stage. Gross pointed out that the regulations of borough tolls found in the charters implied some sort of financial arrangement between guild and royal officials.[39] This may help us to understand how a town could secure the *firma burgi* before authorization to elect a reeve, and how, with no formal recognition, the same right could be enjoyed under the sheriff.[40] Mr. Tait has expressed the opinion that the germ of the town council was the standing committee of better-class citizens earlier found associated in the work of government. The action taken at Ipswich suggests that perhaps similar groups had been employed under the king's officials in many places.[41] At any rate, negotiation

[39] *Gild Merchant*, I. 44, 93, n. 1.

[40] Mr. Tait follows Ballard (*B.B.C.*, I. lxxxvi) in holding that the grant of *firma burgi* included the right to elect a reeve. But during the thirteenth century, when chancery enrollments largely precluded the possibility of lost charters, the former privilege continued to appear much more frequently without the latter than with it (*B.B.C.*, II. lvii). Of the boroughs that at one time or another secured the farm under Henry II. (above, n. 25), the Pipe Rolls provide evidence on the point in question for only four. Local election is indicated by the almost annually changing reeves at Lincoln (from 10 Henry II.), Colchester (from 26 Henry II.), and Northampton (from 31 Henry II.); and comparison of the names shows that in each case they were taken from a narrow group. Lincoln's charter (*c.* 1155) had given the farm as earlier held under Henry I.; for Colchester and Northampton no such grants are extant (see below, n. 52). The right to elect magistrates, if it was also enjoyed, may well have been a separate concession, and not an implication of the *firma burgi*. Wallingford's charter (*B.B.C.*, I. 85) plainly indicates a royal reeve at the very time when the burgesses were rendering account of their farm (see Tait, in *E.H.R.*, XLVI. 535; XLII. 350). And the men of Ipswich had obtained the *firma burgi* six years before they first chose their own magistrates (*Pipe Roll 6 Richard I.*, pp. 47, 63; above, n. 31). It should also be noted that manors could be self-farming: *e.g.*, Whatley, Rawreth, and Wickford (*P. R. 30 H. II.*, pp. xxxii, 135).

[41] *E.H.R.*, XLIV. 192, 194, 198. Mr. Tait is cautious in his conclusions, but is inclined to believe that "the general idea of a council emanating from the community and sworn to serve and uphold its interests" was "derived from foreign example". Such a council was normally a subordinate body to advise the mayor, "a new officer created by the town itself to express its new unity and independence". But this thesis finds little support from London or the Cinque Ports and is flatly contradicted by the Ipswich record. Furthermore, when John accepted the first mayor of Northampton in 1215, he authorized the burgesses to elect twelve *discreciores* to attend to all municipal affairs *simul cum eo* (*E.H.R.*, XLIV. 183). Northampton had apparently been electing reeves since 1185 (above, n. 40) and the privilege was confirmed by Richard. Later, John's charter to Northampton served as the model for that of Ipswich (*B.B.C.*, I. 244). The combined evidence of these sources clearly indicates that the administration of Northampton had been in the hands of a select group long before the installation of a mayor in 1215. *Cf.* Dublin (*E.H.R.*, XLIV. 185).

between community and crown over grants of privilege, collection of royal aids, and other business must have made some such provision imperative on special occasions.[42] And finally, there is the case of the Cinque Ports. How were their ancient services performed without some regular, if informal, system of municipal self-government?[43]

On the whole, it seems quite evident that when the greater boroughs gained political authority under the sons of Henry II. they had been prepared for its exercise by long training in guild and community. Furthermore, the small town did not stand alone; beyond it was always some more experienced leader. And eventually all looked to the illustrious example of London. Did this mean the conscious application of a foreign standard—incorporation as a commune? The answer, I think, can be readily given. The essential facts in the history of the capital are already familiar; it remains only to put them in new alignment.

Anglo-Saxon London, like other boroughs at the time, was governed, not by its citizens, but by royal officials. The outstanding local peculiarity was that the portreeve of London was also sheriff of Middlesex—a combined office that passed unchanged to a Norman baron after 1066.[44] For a while the sheriffs of London, as appears from their names, continued to be of the feudal class, but after 1100

[42] It is a point of considerable significance that in an age when practically no boroughs had elected magistrates they were all brought under a system of variable *dona, auxilia,* etc., which necessitated local dickering. The *Dialogus de Scaccario,* II. xiii (Arthur Hughes, C. G. Crump, and C. Johnson, eds., Oxford, 1902, p. 145), says that the royal justices, while reserving the right to assess the *donum* on individuals, were in the habit of accepting the offer of a lump sum from the community. In the latter case the money was raised by the burgesses themselves through a local levy. And the Pipe Rolls show that individual assessment was first used by the government for the *auxilium ad filiam maritandam* of 1167–1168; when, also for the first time, demesne manors were made to contribute. However, the normal system for the boroughs remained that of composition and self-taxation. The town rates that resulted —and they might be used for other purposes as well—are referred to in many charters (*B.B.C.,* I. 107 ff.). See my article in *E.H.R.,* XXXIV. 457 ff., but subject to the amendments made in the Haskins *Anniversary Essays,* pp. 305 ff.

[43] *E.H.R.,* XLV. 193. None of the charters to the Cinque Ports throughout the twelfth and thirteenth centuries authorized the election of magistrates, but the liberties of the individual towns dated from the reign of Edward Confessor, and the confederacy was at least as old as that of Henry I. (*B.B.C.,* I. 184, 258). My own guess would be that the jurats revealed by later documents began as men sworn in by the communities to manage local affairs; that the practice was taken for granted from the outset and was consequently never made the subject of formal grant.

[44] Round, *Geoffrey de Mandeville,* pp. 37, 354, 439; W. Page, *London: its Origin and Early Development* (London, 1923), pp. 81, 200.

they were displaced by Londoners.[45] Perhaps originally appointed, at least after 1129 they were elected, and this privilege was finally guaranteed in perpetuity by Henry I.'s famous charter. The fee-farm gave the burgesses complete financial autonomy. They received exemption from arbitrary taxation.[46] Trials of citizens were restricted to the city; even royal pleas were to be held there, and under the presidency of an elected justice, the counterpart of the later coroner. Whatever the folkmoot and hustings had previously been, they became municipal courts to the fullest degree then known.[47] And there can be little doubt that the aldermen, who administered their respective wards and helped to render justice in the hustings, were at the same time somehow brought under control of the community.[48]

[45] *Ibid.*, pp. 204–208. This fact is clearly brought out by Mr. Page, though he has another interpretation of its significance. His thesis (p. 83), which minimizes the effect of Henry I.'s charter and throws the origin of London's constitution back into Anglo-Saxon times, can hardly be accepted as proved. The contrary view had been admirably expressed in F. M. Stenton, *Norman London* (Historical Association Leaflet, no. 38, London, 1915). And see also Martin Weinbaum, *Verfassungsgeschichte Londons* (Stuttgart, 1929), ch. II.—a scholarly study of the available sources which owes much of its clarity to the author's understanding of contemporary institutions on the Continent.

[46] F. Liebermann, *Die Gesetze der Angel-Sachsen*, I. 523. That the Londoners' exemption included more than Danegeld seems certain. Scot, like tallage, was a general term meaning tax; as in the phrase scot and lot (*ibid.*, II. 646). *Cf.* the famous charter of Saint-Omer (1127), commented on in *Le Moyen Age*, XXIV. 283, and *Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire*, V. 842.

[47] The origin of the folkmoot remains obscure; perhaps it had begun as the court of a burghal district about the city (*E.H.R.*, XLV. 200–201). In the twelfth century it met three times a year for extraordinary matters, and thus corresponded to the great court or full hundred of the other boroughs (Bateson, *Borough Customs*, II. cxlv ff., and in *E.H.R.*, XVII. 487, 502; Liebermann, *Gesetze*, II. 522, 572). But instead of having the usual monthly session, the husting met weekly—presumably through pressure of routine business. That it had long been concerned with mercantile affairs is indicated by the fact that the London husting weight had been standard from at least the days of Aethelred (*ibid.*, II. 473, 'Gewicht', 7–8), when the city first appears as a center of overseas trade (*E.H.R.*, XLV. 205).

[48] There is no direct evidence either of aldermen or of wards in London before the twelfth century. But since at that time the wards were primarily military districts, they were presumably of Anglo-Saxon origin, like the wards of other boroughs mentioned in Domesday (above, n. 37; Round, *ante*, II. 689). It would seem to follow that the aldermen, who were in charge of these districts, were originally military officials, subordinates of the portreeve. At the opening of the twelfth century, certainly, there were at least twenty (twenty-four, we should expect), who were distinctly of the old landed aristocracy and tended to hold their offices by hereditary right (H. W. C. Davis, in *Essays presented to T. F. Tout*, pp. 45 ff.; Round, *Commune of London*, pp. 103 ff., 241 ff., 255 ff.; Page, *London*, pp. 173 ff., 212; Liebermann, *Gesetze*, II. 565–566; Stenton, *Norman London*, p. 6; Weinbaum, *VG. Londons*, pp. 18 ff.). In that the

Altogether, under Henry I. London secured as complete self-government as was enjoyed by any French commune. Then came the reaction under Stephen. That the king, in spite of the city's support, broke its liberties is proved by his recognition of Geoffrey de Mandeville as sheriff.[49] And it is just at this time that we hear of the commune, plainly a sworn association set up by the Londoners during civil war to maintain or recover their freedom.[50] To such a hope the Angevin succession proved fatal. Henry II., who had rewarded the loyalty of Rouen by confirming its commune,[51] punished the city that had driven out his mother by refusing to restore its old charter. Until his death London was held under despotic administration, burdened with an extortionate farm, and subjected to arbitrary taxation of unprecedented severity.

Inevitably, when the royal grasp was relaxed in 1190, the cry of commune was again raised and a fresh attempt made to regain the lost liberties. This time, thanks to an era of troubled politics, it succeeded, and London once more became self-governing.[52] Henceforth

aldermen were plainly men who before 1066 would have been called thegns and holders of *sac* and *soc*, they resembled the lawmen. And because they helped to render judgments in the husting, M. Bateson declared that they were lawmen (*E.H.R.*, XVII. 481 ff., 786). However, the fate of the latter in the other boroughs must make us wary of such a conclusion (above, n. 37; Tait, in *E.H.R.*, XLIV. 195). How the aldermen were affected by what amounted to a municipal revolution under Henry I. we do not know. By analogy with later custom, they would have been elected to form a council along with the sheriff and justiciar. *Cf.* the *Bürgermeister* (*magistri civium*) at Cologne *c.* 1112 (Koebner, *Köln*, pp. 276 ff.).

[49] Round, *Geoffrey de Mandeville*, pp. 140, 153, 367.

[50] *Ibid.*, pp. 116–117, 247; *Commune of London*, pp. 223–224.

[51] Giry (*Rouen*, I. 25 ff.) argued that the commune of Rouen was granted by Henry II. after 1173; that the *communio* referred to in his first charter (1149) was not the technical *communa*, but the *communitas* of citizens. But see H. Prentout, *Études sur Quelques Points d'Histoire de Normandie* (n. s., Caen, 1929), pp. 19 ff., showing that Giry was wrong in this supposition. See also Round, *Commune of London*, p. 249. The sworn commune of Rouen would seem to have emerged during the civil war following the death of Henry I. *Cf.* Saint-Omer, above, n. 15.

[52] See Round, *Commune of London*, pp. 224 f.; Tait, in *E.H.R.*, XLII. 356 ff.; and for views in accord with the one here expressed, Stenton, *Norman London*, p. 9; Weinbaum, *VG. Londons*, ch. IV. The one great privilege that the Londoners failed to regain was exemption from arbitrary taxation; hence their demand during the barons' rebellion "de omnibus taillagiis delendis nisi per communem assensum regni et civitatis" (*E.H.R.*, XVII. 726). See the references in works cited above, n. 19; and *cf.* other claims, including restriction of military service, in the *Libertas Londoniensis* (Liebermann, *Gesetze*, I. 673). So far as the election of magistrates was concerned, London was not first in the field. Charters of 1189 gave the right to Northampton, Colchester, and Nottingham—the first two probably confirmations of earlier concessions (*B. B. C.*, I. 241 ff.; *E. H. R.*, XLII. 354; above, nn. 40, 41). Lincoln temporarily lost its

the head of the administration bore the prouder title of mayor, but that seems to have been the extent of foreign borrowing. Probably, as Mary Bateson thought, the *échevins* of the communal oath to Richard were merely the aldermen in French translation.[53] However that may be, it was the aldermen who continued, despite temporary innovations, to act as associates of the city's chief in court and council.[54]

The history of London was thus far from abnormal. The capital, though in many ways exceptional, was not so through being more subject to spasms of foreign imitation. French influence there assuredly was, but what English borough had not felt its force since the Norman Conquest? The constitution of London was as much, and as little, a gradual development as that of the average medieval town. After 1191 the city might well have borne the permanent title of commune. That it did not was probably accidental, and in any case is a matter of indifference. The name would not have changed its status one jot.[55]

Accordingly, I can not follow Mr. Tait in his argument concerning

liberties, but they were restored in 1194. Election of sheriffs at London is indicated by the formula which, beginning in the Pipe Roll of 3 Richard I., becomes normal: "Cives Lond' . . . et . . . pro eis r. c." Whether this privilege and the farm were both secured before Prince John swore the commune is, from the point of view here taken, of secondary importance.

[53] *E.H.R.*, XVII. 510. The *scabini* of the Continental towns, with or without the presidency of a mayor, combined administrative and judicial functions. Like the aldermen, they were *iudices*, but not exclusively so. In spite of the fact that they bore an old name, municipal *échevins* were new in the twelfth century (Pirenne, in *Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire*, V. 401 ff., and *Villes du Moyen Age*, pp. 167, 179). Whether the London aldermen of 1191 could naturally be called *échevins* would depend on their contemporary position in the city. If they were still what they were in 1128 (above, n. 48), we should hardly expect the usage. But by the thirteenth century the aldermen were elected from the wards as municipal councilors. Had that been temporarily established under Henry I.? And had a reactionary system been restored under Henry II.? Evidence to decide the matter is at present lacking. We may be sure only that the fate of the aldermen was in some way determined by the explosion under Richard. Between 1128 and 1216 the status of alderman was revolutionized.

[54] Tait, in *E.H.R.*, XLIV. 179 ff., 196, 199.

[55] Mr. Tait seems to imply that the London commune of 1191 remained a permanent institution, although, as pointed out by Adams (above, n. 19), the city's continued subjection to arbitrary tallage can not be reconciled with Luchaire's definition. (See especially *E.H.R.*, XLV. 530, n. 3, 541.) The "communes" at Gloucester and York, for which fines are recorded in the Pipe Rolls of 16 and 24 Henry II. (*E.H.R.*, XLII. 353–354) were undoubtedly associations regarded by the government as unlawful conspiracies, but the objects for which they were sworn are not reported. It may be noted that the latter instance appears in the roll alongside many cases of traitorous correspondence (*communiones*) with the enemy.

the origins of the English municipal corporation. The evidence that he cites with regard to early borough seals is interesting and important, but does not prove the necessary connection of commune and corporateness.[56] What it does prove is that the notion of the town as a body politic emerged in England, as it had on the Continent, along with the formal establishment of municipal self-government. But for England the epoch making event in that connection was Henry I.'s charter, not the commune of 1191. For the latter only restored to the Londoners part of what had been theirs in 1135.[57]

In the broader sense, as a great self-governing town in the twelfth century, London may be styled a commune along with Rouen, Saint-Omer, and Cologne. But individually and collectively their citizens were only bourgeois. Commune or not, London was no vassal by construction—no feudal noble in the abstract. The constitutional history of the English borough does not turn upon a legalistic technicality.

CARL STEPHENSON.

Cornell University.

[56] In view of the arguments advanced above, the following conclusions may be tentatively offered. In England, as on the Continent, the town's elementary liberty was based in uniform burgess status, which carried with it burgage tenure; and in this respect no distinction can be made between older and newer boroughs. Advanced urban liberty consisted primarily in a right, more or less restricted, of self-government, which began as an informal system and eventually secured formal recognition. The essence of the latter was not so much control of the *firma burgi* as authorization to elect magistrates; and this privilege regarded the number and titles of the officers chosen as a secondary matter, to be decided at local discretion. In the early period general practice gave the municipal government rather to a select group of burgesses than to a chief magistrate. Formal grants of self-government became usual only after the death of Henry II. and most of them followed an insurrection in London; but some had already been made by Richard, and they seem to have followed earlier action by Henry II. In connection with these new political establishments municipal seals came into use and reflected in their designs and legends the variety of the governments that they betokened. The commune, except that it provided the means for a decisive rebellion in the capital, had no direct connection with any of these matters. Formal incorporation was thus not derived from it, but was the final stage in a slow evolution of municipal self-government, which can be traced back to obscure beginnings under the Norman kings and even earlier.

[57] See above, n. 52.

THE RISE OF THE OTTOMAN TURKS AND ITS HISTORICAL BACKGROUND[1]

WHO were the Ottoman Turks, and how is their phenomenal rise to power and empire to be explained? The question has baffled and mystified historians ever since the house of Osman came to play a prominent part in European history. It was in 1551 that Hieronymus Beck von Leopoldsdorf first brought to Vienna a chronicle written in the Turkish language. Forty years later Johannes Leunclavius (Loewenklau) published his great collections of sources for Turkish history, which, as we now know, included in one form or another nearly everything in the way of Turkish chronicles that had any bearing on the early period of Ottoman history.[2] During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries Turkish studies made rapid progress in Europe. Ignace Mouradja d'Ohsson's *Tableau Général de l'Empire Ottoman* (Paris, 1788–1824) is but the most striking evidence of the erudition and careful systematic work that was devoted to the subject.[3]

In 1827 there appeared at Budapest the first volume of Josef von Hammer's *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches*. The author stated in the preface that he had spent thirty years in preliminary studies and in the collection of materials. Of the fifty sources which he listed for his first volume only five had been previously used by European

[1] The authors are deeply indebted to Mr. William L. Wright, jr., and Mr. George C. Miles, both of Princeton University, for a critical reading of the manuscript and for a number of valuable suggestions.

[2] Johannes Leunclavius, *Annales Othmanidarum a Turcis sua Lingua scripti*, etc. (Frankfurt, 1588); German translation, with the addition of the Pandects (Frankfurt, 1590); and the *Historiae Musulmanae Turcorum de Monumentis ipsorum exscriptae*, etc. (Frankfurt, 1591).

[3] The development of Turkish studies is well surveyed by Franz Babinger, Die Türkischen Studien in Europa bis zum Auftreten Josef von Hammer-Purgstalls (*Die Welt des Islam*, VII. [1919] 103–129), with additions and corrections by Carl Ausserer (*Der Islam*, XII. [1922] 226 ff.). The history of Turkish studies at Vienna is treated in the introduction of volume I. of the *Mitteilungen zur Osmanischen Geschichte* (Vienna, 1921). See also Franz Babinger, *Stambuler Buchwesen im 18. Jahrhundert* (Leipzig, 1919), and the introduction to his *Die Geschichtsschreiber der Osmanen und ihre Werke* (Leipzig, 1927); J. H. Kramers, *Over de Geschiedschrijving bij de Osmaansche Turken* (Leiden, 1922). The recent work of Turkish historians is well reviewed by Ettore Rossi, Gli Studi di Storia Ottomana in Europa ed in Turchia nell'Ultimo Venticinquennio, 1900–1925 (*L'Oriente Moderno*, VI. [1926] 443–460).

historians. There is relatively little in the way of Turkish chronicles that Hammer did not know and make use of. He was the greatest authority of his time, perhaps of all time. His history and his special studies are still veritable mines of information. It is not to be wondered at that his successors were content to draw on him for facts and that little progress was made in the study of Turkish history for almost a hundred years after the appearance of his monumental work. Neither Zinkeisen, in his history of the Ottoman Empire in Europe, nor Nicholas Iorga, in his general history of the Ottoman Empire, nor Herbert Adams Gibbons, in his special study of the foundations of the Ottoman Empire, was able to make use of Turkish sources excepting as they had been translated into Western tongues. For the most part they were forced to rely upon the information contained in Hammer.[4]

Yet Hammer, for all the loving care with which he assembled manuscript material, did not approach Ottoman history in the spirit of modern critical scholarship. He was quite content to give a coherent narrative, based upon the chronicles, and frequently, when dealing with the obscure question of the rise of the dynasty, preferred the more elegant and finished works of later Turkish historians to the confused accounts of the early writers. Until the last decade even the most elementary work of comparing and collating, to say nothing of editing and publishing the basic chronicles, remained undone. Much of it still remains undone, though several German scholars have devoted themselves to the task and have done pioneer work in clearing away part of the débris. In 1922 Friedrich Giese examined a considerable number of anonymous *Tewārīḫ-i āl-i 'Oṣmān*, or early chronicles which, as he noticed, bore much similarity to each other and probably had a common origin.[5]

From these researches it appears that these chronicles, or their prototype, were written between 1490 and 1512, that is, in the reign of Bayezid II. Furthermore, they formed part of Leunclavius's collec-

[4] J. W. Zinkeisen, *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches in Europa*, 7 vols. (Hamburg, 1840–1863). N. Iorga, *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches nach den Quellen dargestellt*, 5 vols. (Gotha, 1908–1913). H. A. Gibbons, *The Foundation of the Ottoman Empire* (Oxford, 1916).

[5] F. Giese, *Die Altosmanischen Anonymen Chroniken*, Teil I., *Text und Variantenverzeichniss* (Breslau, 1922); Teil II., *Uebersetzung* (*Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, Leipzig, 1925, vol. XVII., no. 1). See also Giese, Einleitung zu meiner Textausgabe der Altosmanischen Anonymen Chroniken (*Mitteilungen zur Osmanischen Geschichte*, I. [1922] 49–75); L. Bonelli, Di una Cronaca Turca del 1500 (*Rendiconti della R. Accademia dei Lincei*, Classe di Scienze Morale, 1900, pp. 423 ff.).

tion, published toward the end of the sixteenth century. The original writer was evidently a mere compiler, who drew from the same source as two of the oldest identified Turkish historians, 'Ašiḳpašazāde and Nešrī. Efforts have been made, especially by Paul Wittek, to determine the relationship between these earliest writers. Nešrī was used by Hammer in the version published by Leunclavius and known as the *Codex Hanivaldanus*. 'Ašiḳpašazāde he was, to his great sorrow, unable to buy, though he made use of the beautiful manuscript acquired by Queen Christina of Sweden and now in the Vatican Library (*Codex Vaticanus*). Wittek was able to prove the close relationship of these two writers, and concluded that Nešrī, who wrote a world history of which only the sixth part, dealing with the Ottoman Turks, has come down to us, was a compiler who wrote not earlier than 1512. 'Ašiḳpašazāde, who was born in 1400, but who wrote his history only in his ripe old age, about 1485, has evidently survived only in later versions, which contain continuations by other writers. Wittek believed that both the writer of the 'Ašiḳpašazāde supplement and Nešrī drew on the original version of 'Ašiḳpašazāde, who, in turn, relied upon a yet earlier chronicler, Jaḫši Faḳīh, for his account of events prior to 1389 or 1403. No manuscript of Jaḫši Faḳīh, whom 'Ašiḳpašazāde himself mentions as his source, has yet been discovered. But in recent years a number of manuscripts in European libraries have been identified as copies of 'Ašiḳpašazāde. Giese, who has published a critical edition of the text, lists twelve of them, and another has been found in Cairo. At least three of these newly identified manuscripts are better than the *Codex Vaticanus,* but they fail to settle the problems connected with this important source. The supplementary chapters vary considerably in the different versions. All we can be reasonably certain of is that 'Ašiḳpašazāde himself ended his account with the year 1485 or 1486, and that the later chapters were probably written around the year 1510.[6]

[6] Paul Wittek, Zum Quellenproblem der Aeltesten Osmanischen Chroniken (*Mitteilungen zur Osmanischen Geschichte,* I. [1922] 77–150), and the lengthy discussion of this article by J. H. Mordtmann (*Der Islam,* XIII. [1923] 152–169); further, Paul Wittek, Neues zu 'Ašiḳpašazāde (*Mitteilungen zur Osmanischen Geschichte,* II. [1923–1925] 147–164); Franz Babinger, Chronologische Miszellen (*ibid.,* pp. 311–319); Ḥüsejn Nāmiḳ, Jahšy Faḳīh (*ibid.,* pp. 319–321); F. Giese, Zum Literarischen Problem der Frühosmanischen Chroniken (*Orientalistische Literaturzeitung,* XXIX. [1926] 850–854), and Giese's introduction to his critical edition, *Die Altosmanische Chronik des 'Ašiḳpašazāde* (Leipzig, 1929). The beginnings of Nešrī's chronicle were translated by Theodor Nöldeke and published in the *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft,* XIII. (1859) 176 ff.

The work of classifying the early chronicles has led to the careful scrutiny of many manuscripts in European and Turkish libraries, and to the discovery and identification of works hitherto unknown. In 1922 the eminent Turkish historian, Köprülüzāde Meḥmed Fu'ād, pointed out the importance of Šükrüllāh, who in 1457 wrote a concise world history in Persian, and thus antedates all known Ottoman chroniclers. This important account has now been translated into German by Theodor Seif.[7] Soon afterward Babinger discovered in the Bodleian Library a manuscript containing the chronicle of Uruj 'ibn 'Ādil, written in the time of Meḥmed the Conqueror, and next to Šükrüllāh the oldest known Ottoman prose history. Several other manuscripts have, since then, been identified as copies of Uruj, and a critical edition of this work has been published.[8]

At about the same time J. H. Mordtmann identified a number of anonymous chronicles of the late fifteenth century as the work of Rūḥī Edrenewī, while the Turkish historian Mükrimīn Khalīl made an even more important discovery of a chronicle dating from the time of Meḥmed the Conqueror. Babinger has identified this as the work of Qaramānī Meḥmed Paša, grand wazir from 1478 to 1481. Parts of this chronicle have now been published in the *Historical Review* of the Ottoman Historical Institute (*Tā'rīḵh-i Türḵ Enjümeni Mejmū'asī*, vol. XIV., 1924), but it has not yet been made available in any Western language.[9]

The investigations of these German scholars have demonstrated more clearly than ever before that we have no Turkish sources antedating the middle of the fifteenth century. The chronicles are, therefore, of doubtful value to the student of the origins of the empire. They unquestionably contain a certain amount of useful tradition, but

[7] Köprülüzāde Meḥmed Fu'ād, Bemerkungen zur Religionsgeschichte Kleinasiens (*Mitteilungen zur Osmanischen Geschichte*, I. [1922] 203–222); Theodor Seif, Der Abschnitt über die Osmanen in Šükrüllāh's Persischer Universalgeschichte (*ibid.*, II. [1923–1925] 63–128).

[8] Franz Babinger, *Die Frühosmanischen Jahrbücher des Urudsch* (Hannover, 1925); *Berichtigungen und Verbesserungen* (Hannover, 1926); and the review by G. Bergsträsser, in *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*, XXIX. [1926] 433–438.

[9] J. H. Mordtmann, Rūḥī Edrenewī (*Mitteilungen zur Osmanischen Geschichte*, II. [1923–1925] 129–136); Franz Babinger, Die Chronik des Qaramānī Meḥmed Paša (*ibid.*, II. [1923–1926] 242–247). Babinger, in his *Die Geschichtsschreiber der Osmanen und ihre Werke* (Leipzig, 1927), catalogues the various historians in chronological order, states what is known of their lives, lists the known manuscripts of their works and the published editions, and gives references to discussions of their writings. This list, though necessarily provisional, is of immense value.

they must be used with the utmost caution. They are crude and naïve and generally confine themselves to a legendary account of the beginnings of the empire. A conventional genealogical table tracing the descent of Osman from Japhet and Noah relieves the writers of their embarrassment when they discuss the origins of the dynasty. They are, moreover, full of confusion and contradictions so serious that, as Babinger says, even the most unbridled imagination can not reconcile them. The truth is that, from the Turkish chronicles alone, no date in Ottoman history prior to 1421 can be fixed with any degree of certainty. No wonder that Hammer frequently relied upon the later historians and ignored the earlier sources.[10]

It might be thought that, failing Turkish sources, the Byzantine historians would be of service in clearing up the obscure story of early Ottoman history. Hammer, Iorga, and H. A. Gibbons all relied heavily upon them. Yet very little information is to be derived from the contemporary Greek writers. The Ottoman Turks were evidently too unimportant in the time of Osman to invite special attention, and the Byzantines were too much taken up with the spectacular dynastic struggles of the Paleologi to devote attention to events in Asia. Besides, the tendency toward classicism rampant among Byzantine historians after the twelfth century helped to veil the information about the irksome intruders behind a decorous rubric on the Persians, the Medes, etc. Consequently, only three contemporary Byzantine historians are worth mentioning at all. They are Nicephoras Gregoras, whose history covers the years 1204–1359; Pachymeres, dealing with the years 1261–1307; and John Cantacuzene, whose history treats the stormy period 1320–1356. Later historians, who, like Phrantzes and Chalcocandyles, are often quoted, wrote in the middle of the fifteenth century, that is, long after the events here under discussion. They are not without value, for, like the first Turkish chroniclers, they evidently drew upon earlier sources which are now lost. But, like the Turkish chroniclers, they can be accepted only with distinct reservations. Their story is much like that of their Turkish contemporaries, and anyone who has taken the trouble to read it will come away with the conviction that the critical historian can derive

[10] The variations in the genealogical tables have been studied by P. Wittek, Der Stammbaum der Osmanen (*Der Islam*, XIV. [1925] 94–100); for further discussion, see Babinger, Chronologische Miszellen (*Mitteilungen zur Osmanischen Geschichte*, II. [1923–1926] 311–319), and the same author's Byzantinisch-Osmanische Grenzstudien (in *Festgabe für August Heisenberg, Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 27/28 [1925–1930] 411–415).

from them very little reliable data regarding the beginnings of the Ottoman Empire.[11]

There remain the Arab writers, of whom three must be considered. First and foremost the great traveler, Ibn Baṭūṭāh, who traversed Asia Minor in the 1330's and visited Nicæa soon after its conquest by the Turks. His description of the country and of prevalent conditions is of great interest, but he says nothing whatever of the history of the Ottomans.[12] The second writer is Shihāb ad-Dīn al-'Umarī, the learned scribe of Damascus and Cairo, who in the 1340's, wrote a huge historical and geographical work covering most of the Mediterranean world. Al-'Umarī, too, gives a detailed account of conditions in Asia Minor, but is silent in regard to the beginnings of the Ottoman state.[13]

Neither of these two writers, so far as we can see, was made use of by Iorga, though H. A. Gibbons drew heavily upon them for his account of Asia Minor at the beginning of the fourteenth century. Since his time, notice has been drawn to an interesting passage in the famous World History of Ibn Khaldūn. It deals directly with the origins of the Ottoman power, and, since it was written prior to 1402, is the oldest known account. Unfortunately it is very brief and adds little to our knowledge. Attention was first called to it by the late Clément Huart, the eminent French scholar, who published a translation of it. Some years later it was noted by Richard Hartmann, who published a summary, evidently without knowing of Huart's translation.[14]

[11] R. Guilland, *Essai sur Nicéphore Gregoras* (Paris, 1926); J. Draeseke, Zu Johannes Kantakuzenos (*Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, IX. [1900] 72–84); William Miller, The Historians Doukas and Phrantzes (*Journal of Hellenic Studies*, XLVI. [1926] 63–71); and the same author's The Last Athenian Historian, Laonikos Chakondyles (*ibid.*, XLII. [1922] 36–49). The traditional story of Turkish origins, as found in Turkish and Byzantine sources, has been republished by two competent scholars: J. Draeseke, Der Uebergang der Osmanen nach Europa im XIV. Jahrhundert (*Neue Jahrbücher für das Klassische Altertum*, XXXI. [1913] 476–504), and F. von Kraelitz, Das Osmanische Herrscherhaus und die Gründung des Osmanischen Reiches (*Oesterreichische Monatsschrift für den Orient*, XL. [1914] 38–40).

[12] C. Defrémery and B. R. Sanguinetti, *Voyages d'Ibn Batoutah* (Paris, 1877), II. 317 ff.

[13] French translation by M. Quatremère, Notice de l'Ouvrage qui a pour Titre Mesalek Alabsar fi Memalek Alamsar (*Notices et Extraits des Manuscrits*, XIII. [1838] 151–384). There is now a critical edition of the part of Al-'Umarī's work dealing with Asia Minor, by Franz Taeschner, *Al-'Umarīs Bericht über Anatolien in seinem Werke Masālik al-abṣār fī Mamālik al-amṣār* (Leipzig, 1929).

[14] Clément Huart, in his review of Gibbons's book (*Journal Asiatique*, ser. 2, IX. [1917] 345–350); the translation in Huart, Les Origines de l'Empire Ottoman (*Journal*

In the absence of literary records, the historian is frequently able to derive valuable information from the study of coins or monuments. Here again the prospect for Turkish studies is disheartening. Osman coined no money, but very interesting coins, struck in the first year of the reign of Orkhan, have recently been published by a Turkish scholar.[15] As for inscriptions, the earliest yet discovered is on the castle at Brusa, and dates from the reign of Orkhan, probably from the year 1337 or 1338. There is another dating from the reign of Murad I. (*c.* 1378) on the Yeshil Jami at Ismid, but the splendid long inscription in Turkish at Kutahia, dating from the year 1411, belongs to the last Kermian ruler, and not to the Ottomans. Such buildings as were erected by the early sultans at Nicæa and were still standing in our day were mostly destroyed by the retreating Greek armies in 1921–1922, so that there is little chance for valuable results from archæological investigation.[16]

It is obvious that, for lack of the source material usually at the disposal of the historian, the whole question of the origins of the Ottoman Empire can not be approached directly. The problem must be attacked from the rear, so to speak. We must find out not only who the Turks were, but also what was the background of their rise to power. Recent historians have recognized the necessity for this procedure. Iorga, for example, devotes one hundred and fifty pages of his five volume work to a discussion of the Seljuq Turks, whereas Hammer disposed of this matter in forty pages, though his history took ten volumes to reach the time of the treaty of Küchük Kainarji. H. A. Gibbons, in his *Foundation of the Ottoman Empire,* made an even more valiant effort to throw light upon the conditions in Asia Minor. Relying on Ibn Baṭūṭāh and Al-'Umarī, he studied the disruption of the Seljuq state, while from the Byzantine historians he drew the material for his account of the weakness of the Greek Empire. His stress upon the utter impotence of the Byzantine state and his emphasis upon the essentially European character of early

des Savants, n. s., XV. [Apr., 1917] 157–166); see also Richard Hartmann, Das "älteste" uns Erhaltene "Osmanische Geschichte Enthaltende Werk" (*Mitteilungen zur Osmanischen Geschichte,* II. [1923–1926] 306–308).

[15] 'Alī, 'Oṯmanlī Imperaṭorluġunun ilk Sikkesi ve ilk Aqchesi (*Tā'rikẖ-i 'Oṣmānī Enjümeni Mejmū-'asī,* VIII. [1917] 48).

[16] Franz Taeschner, Anatolische Forschungen (*Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft,* LXXXII. [1928] 83–118); Franz Taeschner and Paul Wittek. Die Vezirfamilie der Gandarlyzāde und ihre Denkmäler (*Der Islam,* XVIII. [1929] 60–115).

Ottoman expansion is without question the most important contribution made by his monograph. Yet neither Iorga nor Gibbons had much to go by on the Oriental side; for the early history of the Turks the books of writers like Vambéry and Cahun, excellent perhaps in their day, but now superseded; on the history of the Seljuqs not a single scholarly monograph. The fact is that the history of the Seljuq sultanate of Rum has not been adequately treated even in our own day, at least not in any Western language. Most of the Seljuq sources that have been published by Houtsma, Melioranski, and others, deal with the earlier period of Seljuq domination, and refer primarily to the eastern parts of the Seljuq empire. Turkish historians have, of recent years, published a certain amount of inscriptional material from former Seljuq centers in Anatolia, and have written some good monographic studies on the history of the succession states of the sultanate of Rum. But the history of that sultanate, say from 1100 to 1300, still requires systematic treatment.[17] Of geographical or descriptive material there is nothing on the Turkish side. During the sixteenth century the Turks translated some of the Arab writers, but it was only at the very end of the sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth century that serious works like those of Meḥmed al-'Āsiq and Hājjī Khalīfa made their appearance.[18] As for the Arab geographers, Ibn Baṭūṭāh and Al-'Umarī, valuable as their observations are, they do not strike at fundamentals. Their descriptions of the Ottoman territories are brief and anecdotal. Ibn Baṭūṭāh was more interested in the hot baths and sanatorium built by Sultan Orkhan at Brusa than in the problems which concern us. Al-'Umarī was himself never on the ground, and relied upon what he could learn from other travelers whom he met at Cairo.

[17] M. T. Houtsma, *Recueil de Textes relatifs à l'Histoire des Seldjoucides* (Leiden, 1886–1902); some portions of the Saljuq-namé have been translated and paraphrased by P. Melioranski, Sel'dzukname, kak Istočnik dlya Istorii Vizantii v XII i XIII Vekakh (*Vizantiiskii Vremennik*, I. [1894] 613 ff.). The best account, though not definitive, is to be found in the first volume of Köprülüzāde Meḥmed Fū'ād's *History of the Turks* (*Türkiyā Tā'rikh-i*, Constantinople, 1923). The article on the Seljuqs, by H. M. J. Loewe, in the *Cambridge Medieval History* (vol. IV., ch. X. [B]) is hardly more than the usual catalogue of battles, rulers, and dynasties. In English, the best treatment is still that of E. G. Browne, *A Literary History of Persia* (London, 1906), II. 165 ff., 297 ff., but see also M. T. Houtsma, Some Remarks on the History of the Saljuks (*Acta Orientalia*, III. 136 ff.). Most of the monographic studies in Turkish are listed by Babinger in the introduction of his *Die Geschichtsschreiber der Osmanen und ihre Werke*.

[18] Franz Taeschner, Die Geographische Literatur der Osmanen (*Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, LXXVII. [1923] 31–80).

In order to understand the rise of the Ottoman Turks one must have clearly in mind various factors inherent in the geography and history of Asia Minor, as well as certain fundamental developments in the conditions of Anatolia in the period just preceding the appearance of Ertoghrul, Osman, and their followers. The Anatolian plateau forms a geologic unit. It is a relatively barren plain with a salt sink in the center, and is surrounded on all sides by rather lofty mountain ranges. Its surface is so diversified that it is hard to maintain communication between the different parts. The salt sink in the center, to the west of the Halys River, impedes direct longitudinal traffic; the wooded areas on the coast have little in common and no connection with the barren plains of the uplands; and the deep river valleys are effectually sundered from each other by the mountains. While the mountain ranges do not cut up the terrain to the same extent as in the Balkans, the general relief is distinctly broken. These individual and sharply marked geographical units form the districts and cantons which play a large part in the life of Asia Minor. They are the warp and woof of which the changing web of Anatolian history has been woven. If they play but little part in the written records, the reason is that the Byzantine sources contain little information about the provinces of the empire, while the Armenian historians were for the most part locally minded.

At any rate, the canton was a characteristic phenomenon of the Anatolian plateau. The unending list of principalities ruled by the Hittite monarchs, by Mithridates Eupator, Tigranes, and other potentates, must have been of this type.[19] They were organized on a clan basis and even when small and weak were remarkably tenacious of life. Especially in eastern Anatolia they continually emerged unscathed from the wreck of larger kingdoms. Thus geography made for disruption, and explains the strong tendency in Anatolian history toward the formation of small social and political entities.[20]

The counterpart of the cantonal structure was the confused

[19] See the *Cambridge Ancient History*, vol. II., chs. I. and V.; L. A. Meyer and J. Garstang, *Index of Hittite Names, Geographical with Notes* (British School of Archaeology, *Supplemental Papers*, 1923) and the same authors' essay, Kizzuwadna and Other Hittite States (*Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, II. [1925] 23–35).

[20] Cantonal structure in Armenia and Georgia is well discussed by I. Džavakhov, *Gosudarstvennyĭ Stroĭ drevneĭ Gruzii i drevneĭ Armenii* (St. Petersburg, 1905); and N. G. Adonts, *Armeniya v Epokhu Iustiniana* (St. Petersburg, 1909). J. Laurents, *L'Arménie entre Byzance et l'Islam depuis la Conquête Arabe jusqu'en 886* (Paris, 1919), is wholly useless excepting as a collection of material.

linguistic map of the region. The diversity of tongues spoken in Asia Minor was very great and went back to the dawn of recorded history. The Hittite kings used prayers in seven distinct tongues in the state liturgies.[21] Speaking of the Caucasus region Strabo says: "At any rate seventy tribes come together in it (Dioscurias), though others, who care nothing for the facts, actually say three hundred. All speak different languages because of the fact that, by reason of their obstinacy and ferocity, they live in scattered groups and without intercourse with one another."[22] Neither the Hellenization attempted by the Seleucids and the Pergamene kings, nor the partial Latin or Greek urbanization which took place under the Roman Empire effectually extirpated the native dialects and patois. Isaurian and kindred Asianic dialects remained in current use at least until the seventh century. Knowledge of Greek was apparently rather superficial and probably sporadic in the villages, a thin gloss over the underlying barbarism of customs and speech.[23]

The confused racial and linguistic conditions in Anatolia were accentuated by religious factors. With the appearance of Christianity and the adoption of the Zoroastrian cult by the Sasanid rulers of Persia (226 A.D.), missionary activity and persecution began to take place.[24] Then came the first Islamic deluge, in the seventh century. This, to be sure, left but few traces in western and central Asia Minor, and even in the East, where the new frontier of the Byzantine and Arab empires ran through Armenia, there was little contact between the Moslem towns and the Christian countryside. A good many Armenian and Georgian families emigrated southward and westward, but those that remained under Moslem rule appear to have gotten along very well with the conquerors. In the tenth century we actually find members of the Armenian and Georgian nobility, who were Christians, adopting Moslem names.[25]

[21] See E. Forrer, Die Inschriften und Sprachen des Hatti-Reiches (*Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, LXXVI. [1922] 174–269).

[22] Strabo 11, 2. 16 (translation by H. L. Jones, Loeb Library edition, V. 208 ff.).

[23] See K. Holl, Das Fortleben der Volkssprachen in Kleinasien in Nachchristlicher Zeit (*Hermes*, XLIII. [1908] 240–254); W. M. Ramsay, *The Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia* (Oxford, 1895–1897), I. 9 ff.; Richard Leonhard, *Paphlagonia* (Berlin, 1915), chs. VII., IX., X. The interesting and instructive linguistic evolution of a Caucasian district is given by N. Marr, *Georgiĭ Merčul, Žitie sv. Grigoriya Khandzt'iĭskago* (St. Petersburg, 1911).

[24] J. Labourt, *Le Christianisme dans l'Empire Perse sous la Dynastie Sassanide* (second ed., Paris, 1904).

[25] M. Ghazarian, *Armenien unter der Arabischen Herrschaft bis zur Entstehung des*

Of much greater importance was the appearance of the Turks. First into Persia and Mesopotamia, then into Armenia and Anatolia proper, came successive infiltrations, impelled by the same pressure from the rear that their kindred and congeners, the Pečenegs and Kumans, were sensing in the northern steppes. Great advances have been made in recent years in the study of the racial affinities, the ethnological position and the religious status of these Turks. For the purposes of this paper it is unnecessary to discuss the interesting researches of Thomsen, Marquart, Pelliot, Barthold, and others who, by the use of Chinese sources and the discovery of early Turkish inscriptions, have succeeded in tracing back the existence of Turkish tribes to the beginning of the Christian Era, or even further.[26]

When the first waves of Arab invasion reached the banks of the Oxus, Turkestan was in the hands of Turkish tribes. For the space of a generation, in fact from 560 to 585, a mighty Turkish khanate existed whose confines stretched from the Sea of Azov to the Altaï, and relations with it formed the central point of the diplomatic endeavors of both the Roman emperors and the Sasanid Shahan-shahs. This overweighty structure collapsed almost as soon as it was erected, and the congeries of tribes, Turkish and others, resolved itself into an eastern and a western branch. These groups have left traces behind them in the monuments, carved and written. To them are attributable the Orkhon inscriptions belonging to the eastern kingdom, the fragments of literature in the Uighur dialect, written in a script derived from the Syriac, as well as documents written not only in Uighur characters, but also in Nestorian Syriac, Manichæan, Brahmi, and other alphabets, and other monuments which have been found in the sands and caves of Turkestan. The culture of the Turkish races was largely external, and was based upon the syncretistic civilization, partly Christian, partly Manichæan, partly Buddhist, which we find in the forgotten states of Chinese Turkestan. Chinese influences were also opera-

Bagratidenreiches (Marburg, 1903); J. Laurents, *op. cit.;* K. Kostaneanc, Vimikan Taregir (*Bibliotheca Armeno-Georgica,* 1913, vol. II.); H. Hübschmann, *Grammatik der Armenischen Sprache* (Leipzig, 1897), vol. II. pt. 2, pp. 285 ff., 320–321.

[26] See especially the late W. W. Barthold's address to the First Turcological Congress at Baku in 1926, now published in German translation by Paul Wittek, under the title, Der Heutige Stand und die Nächsten Aufgaben der Geschichtlichen Erforschung der Türkvölker (*Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft,* LXXXIII. [1929] 121–142); the bibliography in Marie A. Czaplicka, *Turks of Central Asia in History and at the Present Day* (Oxford, 1918); and the most recent study of the history of the Turks by W. W. Barthold, article, Turks, History, in *Encyclopaedia of Islam* (1931).

tive. After long struggles the Turkestan area was subdued by the Arabs in 758–759, and the Turkish tribes of the region, who belonged to the family of the Ghuzz (Oguz) gradually adopted Islam during the ninth and tenth centuries. The eastern branch maintained itself with ups and downs only until 745, when it was overthrown by the Uighurs.[27]

In the tenth century the conquests of the Chitai, a Mongolian race, seem to have started the Turks moving westward into Islamic regions. But long before this, at least as early as the middle of the eighth century, Turkish slaves were kept at Baghdad and had become the most influential element in the armies of the caliph. There must have been thousands of them in Mesopotamia and eastern Asia Minor before the Ghuzz tribes arrived in the tenth and eleventh centuries. But it was the newcomers who set up the Seljuq dynasty and in a short time reunited the scattered states of Islam, thus consolidating the Mohammedan power just in time to meet the onslaughts of the Crusaders. From the start the Seljuqs proved themselves valiant champions of religion. It is hardly too much to say that they saved Islam and laid the basis for the Turkification of Asia Minor.[28]

The history of the Seljuqs yet remains to be written, but certain outstanding factors in the Turk invasion are fairly clear. The Seljuqs, like most of the Turk tribes of Central Asia, were nomadic in their habits and forms of organization. But the social structure of the newcomers was in no sense a hindrance to their settlement in large numbers in Asia Minor. From time immemorial the agricultural, village-dwelling populations of the Anatolian plateau had been the neighbors of nomadic stocks. The villages, for the most part, were located along the slopes of the foothills or in the more fertile and well watered river valleys. They did not extend to the upland pastures which are thickly blanketed with snow during the winter, nor out into the barren, grass covered, and fairly arid steppe beyond the foothill belt.

[27] W. Radloff, *Die Alttürkischen Inschriften der Mongolei* (St. Petersburg, 1895; N. F., 1897); Barthold, *loc. cit.* There are now German and English translations of the Orkhon inscriptions, based upon the Danish translations of Wilhelm Thomsen, by H. H. Schaeder (*Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, LXXVIII. [1924] 121–175, and E. D. Ross (*Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, vol. V., pt. 4 [1930], pp. 861–876).

[28] Barthold, *loc. cit.*; Wittek, *loc. cit.* By far the best studies of this period are Köprülüzāde Meḥmed Fu'ād's *Türkiyā Tā'rīkh-i*, vol. I. (Constantinople, 1923), and W. W. Barthold's *Turkestan down to the Mongol Invasion* (Gibb Memorial Series, n. s., vol. V., London, 1928). A good brief introduction is Eugen Oberhummer's *Die Türken und das Osmanische Reich* (Berlin, 1917).

These areas had long been the habitat of what we might term the synoikistic nomad, a social phenomenon much more familiar to us from the history of Iran than from the history of Asia Minor.[29] On the Iranian plateau the symbiosis of nomad and cultivator has continued unbroken to the present day. The adjustment between the two elements is easily made and a *modus vivendi* is not hard to establish. It is less commonly known that the very same phenomenon is characteristic of Asia Minor at the present day, and the same is true, though to a lesser extent, of the Balkans.[30] The last, westernmost representatives of this movement are probably the gypsies. So far as Asia Minor is concerned these peoples evidently go back to very remote times. It appears from the Hittite tablets that in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries B.C. a tribe of nomads who lived in the center of Asia Minor and were primarily engaged in horse breeding spoke a language closely akin to pure Sanskrit, and differing decidedly from the *Ursprache* of the dominant folk, Indo-Europeans though they were.[31] Our material does not suffice to show whether during the Byzantine period these nomad elements were racially of a different stock than the populations around them, nor can we show this for Armenia, excepting perhaps in the case of the Kurds. There seems to have been some diversity of race between the various unsettled or nomadic elements.

At any rate, the peculiar populational conditions in Asia Minor made it possible for large numbers of Turks, arriving over a period of many decades, to slip through the normal channels of life without causing much disturbance. They brought with them the nomad's ferocity and energy, but also the nomad's willingness to submit to discipline. Gradually they settled down to an agricultural life, living in villages side by side with the original non-Turkish settlements. The local population, accustomed to living with an intrusive nomad element, cared but little to what stock the intruders belonged. To be sure, some individuals and even families moved out, especially those belonging to the upper classes. For the most part they moved into Byzantine territory, migrating southward along the Taurus.[32] But

[29] The Bakhtiyars are a good modern example, but the Parthians retained certain nomadic characteristics down to the fall of their state.

[30] F. W. Hasluck, *Christianity and Islam under the Sultans* (Oxford, 1929), I. 5 ff. See an interesting passage in the life of St. George the Athonite in P. Peeters, *Histoires Monastiques Géorgiennes* (Brussels, 1923), pp. 102 ff.

[31] P. Giles, in *Cambridge Ancient History*, II. 13.

[32] The importance of this movement is emphasized in the otherwise useless book of the late F. W. Bussell, *The Roman Empire: Essays on the Constitutional History*

the large mass of the population, not only in the country, but also in the towns, gradually became submerged by Islam or apostasized.[33] The result was the striking disappearance of the Greek language and culture from the interior of Asia Minor, an important development which deserves far more study than it has received.

This process can be understood only if one remembers that the Greek population in many parts of Asia Minor could never have been very dense, and that Greek culture was hardly more than a veneer so far as the mass of the people was concerned. Along the frontiers the population tended to be heretical in a large measure—Armenians, Paulicians, Mardaites, Nestorians, who were not Greek by origin and were distinctly unsympathetic to the Greeks in a religious way.[34] In a number of instances we find serious disturbances arising because of the persecution of these heretics by the orthodox authorities. After the Seljuq conquest a distinctly nationalistic and chauvinistic trend made its appearance in the Orthodox Church itself, so that there was less chance than ever for the Greeks to carry on successful propaganda outside Byzantine territory.[35]

The accuracy of this view may be established by a study of the areas of Asia Minor where the Greek language survived up to modern times.[36] We must exclude later colonies of islanders who established themselves upon the seacoast, and we must except also the trading elements present in every Turkish town. This having been done we find that Greek is (or was) spoken in the interior of Asia Minor in but two areas: Pontus, in the valleys leading back from the seacoast from Rizé to Kerasund, some inland colonies between Pontus and Cappadocia near Shabin-Kara-Hissar, and some twenty-six villages in Cappadocia in the neighborhood of Tyana and Nazianos. To these

from the Accession of Domitian, 81 A.D., to the Retirement of Nicephorus III., 1081 A.D. (London, New York, 1910). The effects of the nomad infiltrations are well discussed by Ramsay, in *The Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, II. 302.

[33] H. Gelzer, Abriss der Kaisergeschichte (in Karl Krumbacher, *Geschichte der Byzantinischen Litteratur*, second ed., Munich, 1896), p. 1012, is almost certainly wrong in assuming that there was a sudden and wholesale apostasy. See R. Oberhummer and H. Zimmerer, *Durch Syrien und Kleinasien* (Berlin, 1899), ch. XVI.

[34] See A. Vogt, *Basile Ier* (Paris, 1908), pp. 295 ff., and A. A. Vasiliev, *Vizantiya i Araby za Vremya Makedonskoi Dinastii* (St. Petersburg, 1905), *passim*.

[35] This is exemplified in the affair of Johannes Italos (1085). See F. Chalandon, *Essai sur le Règne d'Alexis I. Comnène* (Paris, 1900), pp. 310 ff., and especially N. Marr, Ioann Petritsi, Gruzinskii Neoplatonik XII–go Veka (*Zapiski Vostočnago Otdeleniya Imp. Rossiiskago Arkheologičeskago Obščestva*, XIX. [1909] 53–114).

[36] See the excellent study of R. M. Dawkins, *Modern Greek in Asia Minor* (Cambridge, 1916).

we can add Silli near Konia, Livisi in Lycia, and Gyolde in Lydia. The dialects spoken in these places show that the Greek population goes back to Byzantine times and further. All other colonies date definitely from the Turkish period.

One or two interesting deductions can be made from this distribution. First, the Greek character of the Pontic area was obviously due to the continued existence of the empire of Trebizond. Second, Greek disappeared wholly from western Asia Minor. Third, the Cappadocian centers were probably stimulated by the presence of the Pontic ones. Clearly, the hold which Hellenism had on the Anatolian plateau was relatively slight.

Even if it is true, and there is evidence to substantiate the view, that the Turks, whether Seljuq or Ottoman, pursued destructive tactics in making their conquests, it seems to be equally true that, once an area was subjugated, conditions rapidly became settled. Sir William M. Ramsay, most eminent of modern students of Anatolian history, has drawn a vivid picture of the course of events in the Byzantine-Seljuq frontier area in Phrygia during the period from the end of the eleventh to the end of the twelfth century. The evidence indicates, he says, that much of the territory was voluntarily abandoned to the Turks by the warring claimants to the Byzantine throne, who were not scrupulous in choosing their friends. The Seljuq conquest was at first merely nominal, and involved little more than the payment of tribute. To be sure, there was more or less campaigning in this area throughout the whole period, and the warfare was ferocious and destructive. But it was spasmodic and inconclusive. Apart from the raids and the campaigns the country was quiet and the rule of the Turks lenient and tolerant. "Even the prejudiced Byzantine historians", says Sir William, "let drop a few hints that the Christians in many cases preferred the rule of the sultans to that of the emperors." So far as one can detect the inhabitants submitted without offering resistance. There is no mention of defense. "Each city stood until the Turks gathered power to overthrow it." Furthermore, there is no trace of religious persecution by the Seljuqs. Most of the Christians evidently became Mohammedan, and Ramsay thinks that the Oriental substratum in the population asserted itself and took naturally to an Oriental religion. However that may be, a study that has been made of the evolution of the Christian archdioceses in Asia Minor after the beginning of the Seljuq conquest indicates that there was a very rapid

decrease in the number of Christians and a very rapid impoverishment of the congregations. Since it is fairly clear that the conquerors spared the inhabitants and granted them religious freedom, it must be assumed that the population went over voluntarily to the new faith, either in order to retain its property or else to avoid being at a disadvantage in other ways. Apostasy was evidently a practical measure for many people, and one which did not occasion much searching of hearts.[37]

It seems to us that the important process of Islamization in Asia Minor can be made yet more easily understandable if the peculiar color of Turkish Islam is borne in mind. It will be remembered that, almost from the beginning, there was a pronounced mystical trend in the teaching of Islam. The literature on the subject is immense, yet the problem still presents innumerable difficulties and still leads to sharp differences of opinion among competent authorities. Here it need only be said that in Islam, where there was no organized church government or single authority, there was more room for variant interpretations and divergent viewpoints. The ascetic, mystical strain in Islam was traced back by the mystics themselves to the earlier part of the Prophet's own career, as set forth in the Koran. Some scholars have tried to connect this attitude with the strong movement of opposition which developed against the Omayyads and eventually led to the establishment of the 'Abbāsid caliphate. But the forces which finally overthrew the Omayyads came from the confines of the empire, from Khurāsān, a region which was one of the strongholds of Messianism. This Messianic movement, while it was, in a sense, mystical, appears to have been quite distinct from Islamic mysticism (Ṣūfiism) properly speaking, as it developed in the time of the 'Abbāsids. In any event, the theory and practice of mysticism was worked out more especially in Iraq, Syria, and Egypt. How much of Christian influence, of Neo-Platonism, of Manichæanism, of Buddhism, and of other Persian and Indian elements went into its make-up we need not stop to inquire. The subject is one on which even the most distinguished authorities seem unable to agree. In fact it is almost impossible to determine even the relation of this movement to unorthodox Islam (Shī'ah), if, indeed, there was a connection. All we can say is that both involved a belief in an esoteric doctrine which had

[37] Ramsay, I. 15 ff., 26 ff., 300–301, II. 695 ff.; A. H. Wächter, *Der Verfall des Griechentums in Kleinasien im XIV. Jahrhundert* (Leipzig, 1903).

supposedly come down from the Prophet through his son-in-law, the fourth caliph, 'Alī.[38]

Central Asia, that great trade emporium of the early Middle Ages, lay at the junction of many Eastern religious currents. Köprülüzāde Meḥmed Fu'ād, the eminent Turkish historian, has made a detailed study of the religious evolution of the Turks while they were still in that region, and has, with the aid of many unpublished documents, done more than anyone to throw light on the utterly obscure religious history of Asia Minor in the times of the Seljuq and early Ottoman rulers.[39] He stresses the fact that the Turks, even after their conversion to Islam, retained many elements of their earlier pagan religion. They disliked the rigorous tenets of orthodox Islam, because these tenets conflicted with their own traditions. For that reason they, like most nomad peoples, leaned strongly in the direction of mysticism, and favored the holy men, monks, and dervishes. The Central Asian cloisters and orders became more and more powerful, and had a larger popular following, at times, than the rulers themselves.[40]

The greatest figure in the history of Turkish mysticism was Aḥmed Yasāwi, who lived in Central Asia in the eleventh century and founded the first dervish order using the Turkish language. It was he who translated the ideas of Ṣūfiism into Turkish. His following was immense and his influence on the later development of other

[38] Of recent discussions we mention, as among the best, the various works of R. A. Nicholson; D. B. Macdonald, *The Religious Attitude and Life in Islam* (Chicago, 1909); Ignaz Goldziher, *Vorlesungen über den Islam* (second ed., Heidelberg, 1925; French translation: *Le Dogme et la Loi de l'Islam*, Paris, 1920); H. Lammens, *L'Islam: Croyances et Institutions* (Beirut, 1926); Louis Massignon, *La Passion d'Al-Ḥallâj* (Paris, 1914–1921), with exhaustive bibliography; Theodor Nöldeke, Zur Ausbreitung des Schiitismus (*Der Islam*, XIII. [1923] 70–81); Richard Hartmann, Zur Frage nach der Herkunft und den Anfängen des Sufitums (*ibid.*, VI. [1916] 31–70); H. H. Schaeder, Manichäer und Muslime (*Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, LXXXII. [1928] lxxvi–lxxxi).

[39] Köprülüzāde Meḥmed Fu'ād, *Türk Edebiyyatinde ilk Mütesavvifler* (Constantinople, 1919); Les Origines du Bektachisme (*Actes du Congrès International d'Histoire des Religions*, Paris, 1925, II. 391–411). There is an excellent analysis of the former work by Theodor Menzel, entitled Köprülüzāde Meḥmed Fu'āds Werk über die ersten Mystiker in der Türkischen Literatur (*Körösi Czoma-Arcniv* [*Zeitschrift für Türkische Philologie und Verwandte Gebiete*], II. [1927] 281–310). Menzel's article, Die Aeltesten Türkischen Mystiker (*Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, LXXIX. [1925] 269–289) is hardly more than a summary of the same work. See also the stimulating review of Köprülüzāde by Clément Huart, in the *Journal des Savants* (n. s., XX. [1922] 5–18), and the article, Turks, Literature, by Köprülüzāde, *Encyclopaedia of Islam* (1931).

[40] Barthold, *Turkestan down to the Mongol Invasion*, pp. 310 ff.

orders was of prime importance. With their conquest of Asia Minor the Seljuqs transplanted all these orders into their new possessions. The princes themselves were strictly orthodox (Sunnite) and Islamic mysticism, which reached its highest development in the time of the Seljuqs in the persons of Ibnu'l-'Arabi and Jalāl ed-Dîn i-Rumî, was officially in complete consonance with the demands of strict observance. The great Mevlevi order, founded by Jalāl ed-Dîn, was always orthodox. But among the common people all sorts of heterodoxy flourished, mixed with primitive religious practices. The popular dervishes propounded theories which, as Köprülüzāde says, were a conglomerate of esoteric Moslem elements, indigenous beliefs of Asia Minor and Iran, and an admixture of various schismatic forms of Christianity, together with philosophic Ṣūfic ideas. Evidently it was not far from these primitive religious tenets to the popular religion prevalent in Asia Minor in the form of heterodox Christianity. At the present day Asia Minor is still full of seminomadic tribes whose religion is a mixture of Shī'ah Mohammedanism and Christianity, with a strong substratum of pagan animistic elements.[41]

Now it is a general phenomenon throughout the Near East that, inasmuch as religious faith was closely connected with linguistic and cultural influences, a change of religion tended to bring about a change of culture as well. A striking instance of this is perhaps the fate of the Chalcedonite Armenians, who were ultimately absorbed by the Georgians. The apostates tended naturally to lose their national peculiarities and ultimately also their native language.[42] The upshot of the Seljuq invasion and conquest of Asia Minor was, then, the disappearance of Christianity and Greek influence in the larger part of Asia Minor, and the effective Turkification and Islamization of this region. Idrīsī, describing the country in 1117, still used the old names, while Ibn Baṭūṭāh, traversing the region in the 1330's, used purely Turkish names. This is a striking illustration of the transformation

[41] Köprülüzāde, *loc. cit.;* Franz Babinger, Der Islam in Kleinasien (*Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft,* LXXVI. [1922] 126–152), and the vigorous reply by Theodor Nöldeke, Zur Ausbreitung des Schiitismus (*Der Islam,* XIII. [1923] 70–81). See furthermore, the illuminating discussion in Hasluck, I. 128, 139 ff., and ch. XIII., and the article, Shī'ah, by R. Strothmann, in *Encyclopaedia of Islam* (1931).

[42] N. Marr, Kreščenie Armyan, Gruzin, Abkhazov, Alanov sv. Grigoriem: Arabskaya Versiya (*Zapiski Vostočnago Otdeleniya Imp. Rossiïskago Arkheologičeskago Obščestva,* XV. [1904–1905] 63 ff.); also his Arkaun, Mongol'skoe Nazvanie Khristian v svyazi s Voprosom ob Armyanakh Khalkedonitakh (*Vizantiïskiï Vremennik,* XII. [1906] 1–68).

that had taken place. It will readily be seen how important a preparation this was for the later establishment of Ottoman rule.[43]

The thirteenth century was a memorable period in the history of the Near East, and especially of Asia Minor. It witnessed the establishment and disappearance of the ephemeral Latin Empire and the temporary transfer of the Greek Empire to Nicæa, as well as the decline and disintegration of the Seljuq sultanate of Rum (Konia) and the first great Mongol conquest. For the moment we must confine our attention to these latter developments.

The Mongols, having conquered Armenia, defeated the sultan of Rum in 1243 and temporarily occupied the capital of the Seljuq state. From that time on the Seljuq ruler was a tributary of the Mongol Great Khan or his lieutenants. Just what did this mean? We do not know exactly, for we lack information as to how the Mongols governed territories of this type. Suffice it to say, however, that the Mongols never really occupied Asia Minor. Their headquarters were in Armenia. Military authorities were established at Konia and other key places, and they certainly interfered in the domestic affairs of the vassal states. Occasionally the vassal rulers were obliged to furnish contingents for new Mongol expeditions. In fact, it is said that the sultan of Rum was defeated largely by Armenian and Georgian contingents fighting in an army only the nucleus of which was Mongol. The Mongols appear never to have been very numerous.[44] But the chief duty of the Mongol agents was to see to the collection and payment of the tribute in the territories not actually occupied by their armies. Thus we are told that the sultan of Rum had to deliver annually 1,200,000 hyperpers, 500 pieces of silk, 500 camels, etc., and that he had to supply the Mongols, whenever they were in his territory, with horses, provisions, and other necessities.[45]

We do not believe, therefore, that the Mongol conquest made any very profound changes in Anatolia. It served to drive many more Turks from Central Asia into the peninsula, but it caused little permanent social or cultural change, despite the ravages and devastations of the armies. Once a country was conquered, a lenient régime was instituted and the greatest toleration shown the Christians. Thus the most magnificent Armenian manuscript now extant was written at

[43] Leonhard, ch. X. This important transformation is well discussed by T. Kowalski, article, Turkish Dialects, in *Encyclopaedia of Islam* (1931).

[44] Georg Altunian, *Die Mongolen und ihre Eroberungen in Kaukasischen und Kleinasiatischen Ländern im XIII. Jahrhundert* (Berlin, 1911), p. 80.

[45] C. d'Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongols* (Paris, 1834), III. 83.

Erznga (Erzinjan) between the years 1269 and 1271, that is, during the Mongol rule. It is a complete manuscript of the Old and New Testaments, with what is unquestionably the finest series of Biblical illuminations now in existence, extraordinary in technique and flawless in execution.[46] That the Mongol rule in no way affected the greatness of Persian literature is a well-known fact.[47]

The decline of the Seljuq power had already begun when the Mongols appeared upon the scene. The reasons for this phenomenon were evidently deep-seated. Apart from the peculiar conditions in Asia Minor, all empires set up by nomadic peoples like the Turks showed a strong tendency toward disintegration, because they were built up on units like the family and tribe, which could only be held together for a short time by some dominant personality. Furthermore, there was no tradition of strong autocracy among the Turks. The dominions of the ruler would often be divided among his sons, with the result that partitions frequently ended in dissolution, especially if defeat at the hands of a rival power intervened. The Mongols defeated the Seljuqs in 1243. In 1260 they were themselves defeated by the Mamelukes of Egypt. From that time on till the end of the century both the Mongol and the Seljuq powers were wracked with dynastic struggles and antagonisms, in which Egypt played a very prominent part. Under the circumstances it is difficult to see how the Mongol conquest can be made to explain the conditions in the sultanate of Rum.[48]

The most potent cause for the break-up of the Seljuq state was probably the habit of the rulers of granting territory in fief to their followers. The nature of these grants is, however, very obscure and our information on the later twelfth and thirteenth centuries so scant that it is almost impossible to make a definite pronouncement. The older theory, advanced by Hammer, that this practice, like most of the Seljuq culture, was taken over from the Persians, is no longer accepted by students of the problem. It is true that the Arab caliphs,

[46] MS. 2555 of the library of the Armenian convent of St. James in Jerusalem. Some of the miniatures have been reproduced, rather badly, by A. Tchobanian, *La Roseraie d'Arménie* (Paris, 1918), vol. I., and by F. Murat, *Yaytnut'iun Yovhannu: Hin Hay T'argmanutiun* (Jerusalem, 1905–1911).

[47] E. G. Browne, *A Literary History of Persia*, II. 443; *id.*, *A History of Persian Literature under Tartar Dominion* (Cambridge, 1920), p. 17.

[48] The peculiar nature of the Turk state formations is discussed by Barthold, in *Turkestan*, pp. 305 ff. See also the anonymous article on the Seljuqs in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, and Hasluck, I. 135.

borrowing the custom from the Persians, assigned large properties and even provinces, or the right to farm the taxes in certain areas, to the great leaders of the state or to soldiers. But it was not until the period of Turkish influence at Baghdad, not until the ninth or tenth century, that this system became closely bound up with the idea of a return in the form of military service rather than in money payments. In 1087 the great wazir of the Seljuqs, Nizāmu'l-Mulk, regularized the practice and established a system of military fiefs. For the first time the grants became hereditary. It stands to reason that this system, the dangers of which Nizāmu'l-Mulk himself recognized as clearly as anyone, was bound to lead to the formation of semi-independent or wholly independent states, especially at times when the ruler was weak or the throne in dispute.[49]

There are at least two instances of considerable grants of this type made by the sultans of Rum in the thirteenth century. About the middle of the century the sultan granted his powerful minister Mo'jin-ud-dîn the territory about Sinope, with the right to pass it on to his son. This was done. There was a direct line of four rulers, who added to their dominions by further conquests, until, about 1300, this area was acquired by the rulers of Kastamuni, who had received that region in the same manner from the Mongol Ilkhan. Even more interesting is the history of the state of Karamania, which played a great part in Anatolian history until its acquisition by the Ottomans in the fifteenth century. Apparently, about the year 1223, a grant of territory was made on the frontier of Rum and Little Armenia, which the Seljuq ruler had conquered from the Armenians. The grantee was given "some Turkman tribes to establish there and guard the frontier."[50] In the last years of the thirteenth and the first years of the fourteenth century it seems that many similar grants were made by the sultans, for these principalities cropped up like mushrooms.

[49] Joseph von Hammer, *Des Osmanischen Reichs Staatsverfassung und Staatsverwaltung* (Vienna, 1815), I. 338 ff.; corrected by the writings of Alphonse Belin, Du Régime des Fiefs Militaires dans l'Islamisme (*Journal Asiatique*, ser. 6, XV. [1870] 187–301). Paul Andreas von Tischendorf, *Das Lehnswesen in den Moslemischen Staaten* (Leipzig, 1872) adds but little to Belin. The best recent studies are those of C. H. Becker, Steuerpacht und Lehnswesen (*Der Islam*, V. [1914] 81–92); Barthold, *Turkestan*, pp. 305 ff.; M. Sobernheim, article, Iḳṭā' (*Encyclopaedia of Islam*, II. [1927] 461–463); Charles Schefer, *Siasset Nameh: Traité de Gouvernement composé pour le Sultan Melik-Châh par le Vezir Nizam oul-Moulk* (Persian text, Paris, 1891; French translation, Paris, 1893); and Köprülüzāde Meḥmed Fu'ād, *Türkiyā Tā'rīk̲h-i*, I. 181–184 (bibliography).

[50] D'Ohsson, III. 489 ff., 500; J. H. Kramers, article, Karamanoghlu (*Encyclopaedia of Islam*, II. 748–750).

When Ibn Baṭūṭāh passed through this region about 1340 he noted some twenty-five of them.[51]

The earliest Ottoman chronicles are unanimous in saying that Ertoghrul received territory as a fief from the sultan of Rum for having helped him in his wars with the Mongols. The idea has been rejected with some vehemence by H. A. Gibbons, who stresses the fact that the authority of the Seljuq ruler was, at the time, of the most shadowy character, and who insists that the first Ottomans were "self-made men". There is no evidence to support this contention. On the contrary, there is every reason to suppose that the tradition as we find it in the chronicles is substantially correct. Like the forbear of the Karamanian dynasty, Ertoghrul was sent to the frontier with a certain number of Turkman tribesmen, to settle there and do guard duty.

Who, more exactly, were Ertoghrul, Osman, and their followers? So far as one can make out, the stories told in the chronicles are true in all essentials. They were evidently part of the Qaji tribe of the Ghuzz branch of the Turks, the same racial group from which the Seljuqs came and with which the Qun, ancestors of the Cumans of southern Russia, were connected.[52] If Professor Marquart's theory is correct, they came from the east side of the Caspian Sea, from the region now known as the Krasnovodsk Peninsula. The name Balkan Mountains was evidently transferred to Europe from the Balkan Mountains of that Asiatic area. Marquart accepts the story told by the early chroniclers, that the ancestors of the Ottomans came into Armenia under the leadership of a certain Soleiman, who belonged to the army of the Khwārezm-shāh Jellâl ed-dîn Mankobirtî. The latter took the town of Achlat in 1229, and, as we know from his contemporary biographer, distributed fiefs in the vicinity. Soon afterward he was defeated and driven out by the Mongols; Soleiman, say the chroniclers, decided to return to Khurāsān, but was drowned on the way as he tried to ford the Euphrates.[53]

[51] These are listed in H. A. Gibbons, *The Foundation of the Ottoman Empire*, appendix A, on the basis of the information in Ibn Baṭūṭāh and Al-'Umarî.

[52] M. T. Houtsma, Die Ghuzenstämme (*Vienna Oriental Journal* [*Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*], II. [1885] 219–233).

[53] Mohammed en-Nesawi, *Histoire du Sultan Djelal ed-din Mankobirti*, translated by O. Houdas (Paris, 1895), pp. 337 ff. On this matter see Josef Marquart, Ueber die Herkunft der Osmanen (appendix II. of his Ueber das Volkstum der Komanen, in *Abhandlungen der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen*, Phil. Hist. Klasse, N. F., XIII. [1914] 25–240). Paul Pelliot, in his detailed review supplementary to Marquart (A propos des Comans, *Journal Asiatique*, ser. 11, XV. [1920] 125–185) does not touch upon this aspect of the problem.

The chronicles go on to say that Ertoghrul, Soleiman's son, turning westward, came to the aid of the sultan of Rum and was given territory about Süğüd in return for his assistance. H. A. Gibbons throws out the whole story, on the plea that the reputed fifty thousand followers of Soleiman are not even mentioned by the biographer of Jellâl ed-dîn Mankobirtî. It stands to reason that this figure must not be taken literally. Ertoghrul is said to have settled about Süğüd with four hundred families, which is quite likely nearer the truth. He was in all probability the leader of one of the numerous small Turkish tribes that entered Anatolia at this time, very possibly driven westward by the pressure of the Mongol advance. Even at the present day there are nomadic or seminomadic tribes in Anatolia with names evidently taken from Central Asian villages. These Anatolian names go back to this period.[54] As for Ertoghrul, he was almost certainly assigned the territory about Süğüd by the sultan of Rum, for it is inconceivable that he should have taken, of his own free choice, one of the most crucial and necessarily most closely watched spots, the frontier of the Greek Empire, for the settlement of a nomadic or seminomadic population.

Ertoghrul himself plays no important part in Ottoman history. So far as we can make out he conquered no territory worth mentioning. Presumably he simply held the front, as he was supposed to do. It was Osman who is reputed to have declared his independence in 1299 and to have set out on a career of conquest. This does not mean that he made a formal pronunciamento of any kind. The fact was that the Seljuq state went to pieces in the last years of the thirteenth century and that Osman, like many of his fellow vassals, set up on his own, from necessity as much as from choice. The question then arises, how were Osman and Orkhan able, in a short period, to make such important conquests as those of the cities of Brusa (Bursa), Nicæa (Iznik), and Nikomedia (Ismid)?

H. A. Gibbons makes a special point of stressing the weakness of the Byzantine Empire as one of the important factors facilitating the expansion of the Ottoman Turks. He contrasts the relatively strong position of the Anatolian emirates and khanates with the debility of the Greeks, and repeatedly emphasizes the fact that these considerations explain why the Ottoman conquests first extended into Europe,

[54] Hasluck, I. 128; Leonhard, ch. X. It is worth noting that there is little difference between the old Ottoman language and the Seljuq Turkish. See article, Turkish Dialects, in *Encyclopaedia of Islam* (1931).

rather than toward the south and east. This is a view to which we heartily subscribe. Yet it must be confessed that Gibbons does not go very deeply into the fundamentals. He contents himself with a discussion of the dynastic and religious struggles of the first half of the fourteenth century, and dilates on the dangerous policy of the emperors in calling in men like Roger de Flor and his Catalan followers to meet the raids of the Turks. All this is certainly important, but it is by no means the whole story. Neither does it help much to explain the very first Ottoman conquests in Asia Minor. Everyone knows that the empire of the Palæologi was merely "a slender, dislocated, miserable body upon which rested an enormous head, Constantinople", and that the last two centuries of its existence were a period of "slow and lamentable agony, not worth spending much time upon". They were the last pathetic years of an "ageing organism", years not only of decay, but of veritable wasting away.[55]

But these generalities are not very enlightening. What is needed is a series of detailed studies on the administrative, military, and social history of the empire after 1261. The recent monographs on the Nicæan period and on Michael Paleologus add nothing on this side.[56] Dölger has illustrated a number of points in the governmental and financial problems of the later period, and Tafrali has published an excellent monograph on the social struggle in Thessalonica in the fourteenth century. This is the type of investigation that is needed for the understanding of conditions in Bithynia.[57] Taken by and large the best general account of the various aspects of the decline and fall of the Greek Empire is that in the recent volume of Charles Diehl.[58]

Our object must be to recreate, as well as may be, a picture of conditions on the Asiatic front in the late thirteenth century. The

[55] Charles Diehl, L'Empire Byzantin sous les Paléologues (in his *Études Byzantines*, Paris, 1905, pp. 220, 223); A. A. Vasiliev, *History of the Byzantine Empire* (Madison, 1929), II. 265–266; Ernst Stein, Untersuchungen zur Spätbyzantinischen Verfassungs und Wirtschaftsgeschichte (*Mitteilungen zur Osmanischen Geschichte*, II. [1923–1925] 1–62).

[56] Alice Gardner, *The Lascarids of Nicaea* (London, 1912); Conrad Chapman, *Michel Paléologue, Restaurateur de l'Empire Byzantin, 1261–1282* (Paris, 1926).

[57] F. Dölger, Beiträge zur Geschichte der Byzantinischen Finanzverwaltung besonders des 10 und 11 Jahrhunderts (*Byzantinisches Archiv*, Heft 10, Leipzig, 1927); O. Tafrali, *Thessalonique au Quatorzième Siècle* (Paris, 1912). Still of great value are the researches of V. G. Vasil'ievskii, Materialy dlya Vnutrenneĭ Istorii Vizantiĭskago Gosudarstva (*Žurnal Ministerstva Narodnago Prosvešćeniya*, vol. CCII. [1879], pt. 2, pp. 160–232, 386–438; vol. CCX. [1880], pt. 2, pp. 98–170, 355–404).

[58] Charles Diehl, *Byzance, Grandeur et Décadence* (Paris, 1919).

Greek domination at Constantinople had been reëstablished only a short time before, and the imperial possessions in Anatolia were still essentially what they had been in the time of the Nicæan emperors. That is to say, the frontier ran somewhere on the plateau just north of Eskišehir (Dorylaeum), leaving to the Greeks the three important cities of Nicæa, Nikomedia, and Brusa. From the beginning of the restoration period the Paleologi were unable to pay much attention to this area. Controlling only a few fragments of the territories formerly held by their predecessors, challenged in their position by the ejected Latins, confronted by the demands of the Genoese, Venetians, and other Italians for extensive trading privileges, deprived of anything like an adequate income, and sorely in need of an army and navy, the restored emperors were hardly able to maintain themselves in the face of ecclesiastical and social struggles at home and the standing menace of invasion from abroad.

The Byzantine historian Pachymeres says that Michael VIII., on a visit to his Asiatic possessions sometime after 1261, found this region in the most appalling condition. The cities were ruined and deserted, trees and vegetation were destroyed, and the countryside in many places could not be traversed. The immediate cause for this destruction was undoubtedly the constant raiding of roving Turkish tribes. But other factors were unquestionably of great contributory importance. It must be remembered that for centuries the Anatolian provinces had been the scene of the growing power of what we may call feudalism. Large estates had been emerging, and not even the energetic rulers of the tenth century had been able to put a stop to the process. The Anatolian aristocrats, together with the powerful abbots and ecclesiastical dignitaries were, perhaps, the most virile, active, and able men produced by the later empire, but this does not alter the fact that they became a menace not only to the imperial power, but to the health of the social structure. The investigations of Vasil'ievskii, referred to above, showed that in the period we are considering there were still free peasants in the areas about the Sea of Marmora. This social class had not entirely disappeared, but it is probably true that the large mass of the agricultural population held land under a variety of forms either from a feudal lord or from a monastery. Of the misery of the peasantry there can be little doubt. Weighed down by payments due to their lords, they were more and more exposed to the exactions of the tax collectors sent out by a government which became increasingly indigent. From the time of the first

Turkish invasions the agricultural regions tended to become depopulated. Evidently the peasants were glad rather than sorry to change masters. Others, when they could, escaped to the towns, though it may be questioned whether they found a better lot there. One thing, at any rate, may be taken as certain, that the population of the Byzantine Empire in Asia was not in a very prosperous or happy state of mind. The great Zealot and Hesychast controversies of the fourteenth century, which centered in Thessalonica, were social as much as religious movements. They throw a lurid light on the almost unbearable wretchedness of the common people.[59]

Militarily speaking, the emperors were not able to offer serious resistance to an invader. Ever since the first Arab incursions in the seventh century, a long line of fortified posts had been established to protect the frontier. These were located in or about the mountain passes, and were manned with frontier troops (akritai). These forces were quite distinct from the provincial army corps (tagmata), and operated only from their strongholds. Rarely were they drawn off on campaigns in other areas. In the earlier period they were composed of rough and ready military men, of great daring and energy. The emperors placed implicit trust in them and rewarded them with large grants of land or military fiefs. When the frontier was thrown back into northwestern Asia Minor as a result of the Seljuq invasions, less adequate fortifications appear to have been erected, so the frontiersmen were of greater importance than ever. The Nicæan emperors treated them with great consideration, endowing them with lands, relieving them of taxation, and looking indulgently upon their great wealth. It seems that a worse element established itself in this line of work. In the famous tenth century epic of Digenis Akritas, the frontier guards appear as the valiant defenders of the empire and Christianity against the infidel—splendid men, great in valor and great in love. But by the end of the thirteenth century, traits of cruelty and violence had become more prominent.

Evidently the *akritai* had become more of a bane than a blessing. After the reconquest of Constantinople in 1261, Michael VIII. proceeded against them. He had a census taken and in 1265 confiscated all their landed property, giving the owners a compensation of only forty pieces of gold. It turned out, however, that the soldiers were stronger than

[59] Stein, *loc. cit.;* Vasiliev, *Byzantine Empire,* II. 147 ff., 386 ff.; Charles Diehl, Byzantine Civilisation (*Cambridge Medieval History,* vol. IV., ch. XXIV.), and especially his *Byzance,* bk. III., chs. II., III., VI.

the emperor. They rose in revolt in the usual fashion, and the decrees could not be put into effect. After this the defense system seems to have become completely demoralized. The emperors at best could muster an army of only ten or twelve thousand men and when, in 1329, Andronicus II. and John Cantacuzene proceeded against the Ottoman Turks they took only some two thousand trained troops with them. All the rest of the army was mere rabble, intent on saving its own hide and plundering the country as it went. The burden of the battle was borne by some three hundred knights, and they made a poor enough showing. Under the circumstances it is easy to understand how the first Ottoman rulers, even with their small following, were able to accomplish what they did.[60]

Our understanding of the course of the earliest Ottoman conquests will be considerably facilitated if we bear in mind the peculiar topographical conditions of the region in which Ertoghrul and his men had been established. They were on a high and rather barren tableland north of Eskišehir. In all probability they had come along the great trunk road from Armenia, the course of which has been so well studied by Taeschner.[61] The winter pastures of these tribes appear to have been north of Süğüd, while the summer pasturage was farther to the west, on the Dumanij Dagh. In their first conquests the Ottomans simply pushed along the road, that is, northward down the valley of the Kara Su, along which, in the opposite direction, went the Crusaders and along which runs the modern railway. This brought them, along the old roads retraced by Taeschner, to Bilejik and then to the lower country in which lie the cities of Brusa, Yenišehir, Nicæa, and Āq-Hiṣṣār. Such is the account of the earliest known chroniclers, Šükrüllāh and Uruj, and we have no reason to question it. The movement from the dry, barren uplands to the thicker vegetation of the river valleys and the better grazing areas

[60] Chapman, ch. XI.; Vasiliev, *Byzantine Empire*, II. 292 ff.; Diehl, *Byzance*, bk. III., ch. VII. The best study of the military organization in this period is by P. Mutafčiev, Voiniski Zemi i Voinitsi v Vizantiya prez XIII-XIV Veka (*Spisanie na Bolgarskata Akademiya na Naukite*, Kn. XXVII., Klon Istorio-Philologicen i Philosofsko Obščestven, XV. [1923] 1–113). See also the detailed review of this article by F. Dölger, in the *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, XXVI. (1926) 102–113.

[61] Franz Taeschner, *Das Anatolische Wegenetz nach Osmanischen Quellen* (Türkische Bibliothek, nos. 22, 23, Leipzig, 1924, 1926); *id.*, Die Verkehrslage und das Wegenetz Anatoliens im Wandel der Zeiten (*Petermanns Mitteilungen*, Bd. LXXII. [1926], Heft 9/10).

on the north side of Olympus and ultimately to the richer, busier lowlands about Brusa and Yenišehir was the most natural thing in the world.[62]

Whatever may have been the exact state of cities like Brusa and Nicæa at the beginning of the fourteenth century, we know that they were strongly walled towns, probably surrounded by many smaller forts and outworks. Nicæa must have been a town of some thirty to forty thousand inhabitants. It had enjoyed a period of splendor during the thirteenth century, when it was the capital of the Greek Empire[63]. So far as one can make out, it was still quite a busy place about 1300.

According to the early chronicles the Ottomans besieged these places for many years, building forts opposite the Greek outworks and gradually cutting off these cities until they surrendered. We do not question the accuracy of this account of Turkish tactics, but the question arises why nomadic or seminomadic tribes should have wanted to go to all this trouble. H. A. Gibbons gives a peculiar reply to this query. After rejecting most of the traditional account and making fun of the ridiculous stories concerning the origins of the Ottomans which were circulated by Western writers in the sixteenth century, he seizes upon the story told by the Turkish chroniclers of a dream attributed to Ertoghrul or Osman and upon the Arabic name of Osman in order to build up the theory that Osman and his followers first became converted to Islam at this time and embarked upon their conquests from religious motives. Now the story of the dream is utterly unconvincing. It appears in the chronicles in the most divergent forms. One can not even decide whether it was Ertoghrul or Osman who saw the vision of empire. Besides, the prototype of the story can be found as far back as the history of Herodotus. It is

[62] Taeschner, Anatolische Forschungen (*Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, LXXXII. [1928] 83–118). Wilhelm Tomaschek, Zur Historischen Topographie von Kleinasien im Mittelalter (*Sitzungsberichte der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, vol. CXXIV., Abh. 8, Vienna, 1891) deals chiefly with the coastal areas and the routes of the Crusades, but see Colmar Freiherr von der Goltz, *Anatolische Ausflüge* (Berlin, 1896) and the detailed geological and geographical study of Alfred Philippson, Reisen und Forschungen im Westlichen Kleinasien, Heft III. (*Petermanns Mitteilungen*, Ergänzungsheft no. 177, 1913). Richard Hartmann's *Im Neuen Anatolien* (Leipzig, 1928) is predominantly archæological and artistic.

[63] See especially Johannes Soelch, Historisch-Geographische Studien über Bithynische Siedlungen: Nikomedia, Nikäa, Prusa (*Byzantinisch-Neugriechische Jahrbücher*, I. [1920] 263–337).

not a very firm foundation for a key argument.[64] Neither is Osman's name of any consequence.[65]

It is almost a certainty that the Ottoman Turks, like almost all Turks, were Moslems even before they left Central Asia. In fact, it is very likely that the Mongols, who were pagans but who were much more favorably disposed toward the Christians than toward the

[64] See especially J. H. Mordtmann's observations (*Der Islam,* XIII. [1923] 152–169).

[65] This question has caused so much trouble for so long a time (see Theodor Nöldeke, in *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft,* XIII. [1859] 185, n. 5) that a few words of explanation may be in order. In Anatolia, proper names are so frequently and so completely corrupted that philological derivations are of little use. Al-'Umarī calls Osman *Taman,* and Pachymeres and Nicephoras Gregoras call him *Atman,* so that the suggestion has been made that his name may really have been Turkish—*Azman* or something like it (see F. Giese, Das Problem der Entstehung des Osmanischen Reiches, in *Zeitschrift für Semitistik,* II. [1923] 246–271). On the other hand, Ibn Baṭūṭāh calls him Osman, and so he appears on the first coins, struck in the reign of Orkhan ('Ali, 'Oṯhmānlī Īmperaṭorluğunun īlk Sikkesi ve īlk Aqchesi, in *Tā'rikẖ-i 'Osmāni Enjümeni Mejmū'asi,* VIII. [1917] 48). Of course, this in itself does not prove that his name was originally Osman, or that he was always a Moslem. It should be recalled that after the Turkish invasions many Armenian and Georgian Christians adopted Islamic names, and that Ertoghrul's father bore the common Arabic name, Soleiman. A clew may be found in Ibn Baṭūṭāh's statement that Osman's name had a suffix, *jiq* or *juq.* He says this signified Osman the Little, to distinguish him from Osman the third caliph. Giese (*loc. cit.*) thought that it might have been a term of endearment, and Huart (*Journal Asiatique,* ser. 11, IX. [1917] 345–350) has suggested that it might have been connected with the town of Osmanjiq (or zich), just south of Sinope on the Qizil Irmaq. This idea has been developed by J. H. Kramers (Wer war Osman? in *Acta Orientalia,* VI. [1927] 242–254), who has pointed out that the town had the name in the early thirteenth century and that the practice of naming persons from the locality of their birth was by no means unusual. From the confusion of the early chronicles regarding the names of Ertoghrul's sons, Kramers tried further to establish the theory that Osman was not a real son, but a man who joined Ertoghrul as he and his followers passed through Osmanjiq. It may be, however, that Osmanjiq was a perfectly good Turkish name. Maḥmūd of Ghazna, the great Turkish conqueror of Persia and India, had, according to a contemporary writer (Al-'Utbī in the early eleventh century) an uncle named Bughrājuq and a general named Tughānjuq (see Muḥammad Nāẓim, *The Life and Times of Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Ghazna,* Cambridge, 1931, pp. 32, 37, 39, 46, 48, 67), and a later Turkish writer tells of a Turkish general of the eleventh century named Osmanjiq Beg. Ḥājjī Khalīfa, the great Turkish traveler, says the town of Osmanjiq got its name because it was conquered by a general named Osman, in the tenth century! (See A. D. Mordtmann, Die Dynastie der Danischmende, in *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft,* XXX. [1870] 467–486). As a piquant detail it may be mentioned that Donado da Lezze, one of the earliest Italian historians of the Ottomans, says explicitly that the first member of the dynasty was Zich, who was the father of Ottoman (Donado da Lezze, *Historia Turchesa, 1300–1514,* I. Ursu, ed., Bucharest, 1910, p. 4). We do not know what this suffix *jiq* or *juq* signified and the original form of Osman's name evidently can not be determined.

Moslems, forced the emigration of the Turk tribes from Central Asia by their religious persecution, of which the Arab and Persian sources make bitter complaint. After all, racially the Mongols and the Turks were very closely related.

Though we think that Gibbons's theory of the conversion of Osman to Islam will hold no water whatever, we do believe that religion played some part, perhaps an important part, in the story of Ottoman expansion.

We have already pointed out the mystical trend and the dervish influence in Turkish Mohammedanism, as well as the part played by these factors in the Turkification and Moslemization of Asia Minor in the time of the Seljūqs. Now the Mongol conquests sent another flood of dervishes and holy men into Asia Minor from Transoxania, Persia, Iraq, and Syria. In all probability they moved along in the company of the migrating Turkish tribes. It is interesting to note that the ancestor of the Karaman dynasty was a Ṣūfi sheikh and that the Sarukhan dynasty in the fourteenth century was closely connected with the Mevlevi order of dervishes.[66] We have every reason to suppose that the early Ottoman rulers were under similar religious influence. It is said that the earliest document bearing on religious grants in the Constantinople archives goes back to 1294-1295, and it is a fact that among the earliest Ottoman buildings in Brusa were mosques and medresses.[67] It has been claimed, in fact, that the Janissary corps was established through the efforts of Ḥājjī Bektash, the founder and patron of the famous Bektashi order and the reputed friend and adviser of Osman or Orkhan. If true, the story would go far toward explaining the *élan* of the early Ottoman conquerors.

The story is found in many of the early chronicles, though it is warmly disputed by one of the oldest, 'Ašiḳpašazāde. A classic version of it is contained in a recently published dervish manual attributed to Bektash himself. The book dates from the early fourteenth century, and is therefore older than any known Turkish account of the origins of the Ottoman Empire. Erich Gross, the editor, was disposed to attribute to it considerable value as an historical source, though the nature of the book is against its acceptance as serious historical ma-

[66] J. H. Kramers, article, Karamanoghlu (*Encyclopaedia of Islam*, II. 748–752); Franz Babinger, article, Sarukhan (*ibid.*, IV. 177–178).

[67] J. Deny, in *Histoire et Historiens depuis Cinquante Ans* (Paris, 1927), I. 453; Taeschner, Anatolische Forschungen (*Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, LXXXII. [1928] 83–118); Taeschner and Wittek, Die Vezirfamilie der Gandarlyzāde und ihre Denkmäler (*Der Islam*, XVIII. [1929] 60–115).

terial.[68] As a matter of fact, there appears to be nothing substantial in this legendary account. The researches of other scholars, like Browne, Jacob, Köprülüzāde, and Hasluck, have shown convincingly that Bektash himself lived in the early part of the thirteenth century and that he was a popular, none too orthodox dervish leader. He had nothing to do with the founding of the order that bears his name, nor, in fact, with the establishment of the Janissaries. His disciples, about 1400, fell under the influence of a Persian mystic and agitator named Faḍlu'llah, the founder of the Ḥurūfi sect. With this sect the followers of Bektash became merged. They may have had some connection with the serious religious and social upheaval under Sheikh Bedr-ed-din in 1415–1416, and they were certainly involved in the uprising of the first quarter of the sixteenth century. It was only after this period that their connection with the Janissaries began. The association was recognized in the late sixteenth century, and from that time on the Bektashi dervishes lived in the barracks of the Janissaries and accompanied them on their campaigns. The point is important, for the Bektashi were as much a sect as an order, and were far removed from good Sunnite orthodoxy. They were careless of matters like circumcision, veiling of women, regular prayer, abstention from drink, etc., and were closely related to Shī'ah Mohammedanism and even Christianity. These traits are still very pronounced among the Kizilbash tribes of Anatolia, who are visited each year by a Bektash dervish, known by them as a rabbi, who administers to them the sacrament![69] It can not be that this association of Janissaries and heterodox dervishes was welcome to the Ottoman government. Evidently the weak sultans who followed Soleiman the Magnificent

[68] Erich Gross, *Das Vilajet-name des Haǧǧi Bektasch* (Türkische Bibliothek, no. 25, Leipzig, 1927), especially pp. 199 ff. See the severe criticism of the editor's conclusions by H. H. Schaeder, Zur Stiftungslegende der Bektaschis (*Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*, XXXI. [1928] 1038–1057). The story is given in the traditional form in Theodor Menzel, Das Korps der Janitscharen (*Beiträge zur Kenntnis des Orients*, I. [1902–1903] 47–95).

[69] E. G. Browne, Further Notes on the Literature of the Hurufis and their Connection with the Bektashi Order of Dervishes (*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, July, 1907, pp. 533–581); Georg Jacob, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis des Derwisch-Ordens der Bektaschis* (Türkische Bibliothek, no. 9, Leipzig, 1908); *id.*, Die Bektaschijje in ihrem Verhältnis zu Verwandten Erscheinungen (*Abhandlungen der Philosophisch-Philologischen Klasse der Königlich-Bäyerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, vol. XXIV. [1909], pt. 3); Köprülüzāde Meḥmed Fu'ād, Les Origines du Bektachisme (*Actes du Congrès International d'Histoire des Religions*, Paris, 1925, II. 391–411); Hasluck, I. 159 ff.; vol. II. ch. XL.; Leonhard, ch. XI.

were unable to do anything about it, but it is significant that Maḥmud II., in 1826, attempted to abolish the Bektashi order together with the Janissaries. On the other hand, he showed great favor to the orthodox and perfectly loyal Mevlevi order.

Though the Bektashi, as such, evidently had no connection with the first Ottoman rulers, other dervishes did. Taken by and large, the dervishes aimed at the reconciliation of Christianity and Islam. They put little store by doctrinal differences and ceremonial practices. Some were downright missionary in their aims, like the Isḥāqī, who are reputed to have converted to Islam thousands of fire worshipers and Jews in Persia, India, and China before they appeared in Anatolia.[70] There were not a few shrines in Anatolia that were frequented indiscriminately by Christians and Moslems alike. In fact, it is difficult to draw any fundamental distinction between the Turkish dervishes on the one hand and on the other the numerous zealots, mendicant monks, pilgrims, wanderers, and madmen who swarmed through Byzantine territory in the time of the first Paleologi. H. A. Gibbons is probably right in assuming that there was widespread apostasy on the part of the Greeks, who found the change of religion a not very considerable one and discovered that it was a useful expedient. Many accepted Islam outwardly, while still remaining Christian in faith and feeling. There is a most curious letter, written in 1338 by the patriarch at Constantinople to the Greeks at Nicæa, in which he offers to take them back into the Church, even if they made no public renunciation of Islam. There was a Christian monastery in Nicæan territory as late as 1395, as there were many Christian monasteries at all times in lands ruled by Moslems. Dawkins quotes a document of the year 1437, which shows only too clearly what took place:

Notandum est, quod in multis partibus Turcie reperiuntur clerici, episcopi et arci-episcopi, qui portant vestimenta infidelium et locuntur linguam ipsorum et nihil aliud sciant in greco proferre nisi missam cantare et evangelium et epistolas. Alias autem orationes dicunt in lingua Turcorum.[71]

[70] Köprülüzāde Meḥmed Fu'ād, Abū Isḥāq Kāzerūnī und die Isḥāqī Derwische in Anatolien (*Der Islam*, XIX. [1930] 18–26).

[71] Dawkins, p. 1, n. 1, cited from *Neos Hellēnomnēmōn*, VII. [1910] 366. On the Anatolian shrines, see Hasluck, vol. II., ch. XXVI. The letter of the Greek patriarch, in Wächter's *Der Verfall des Griechentums in Kleinasien im XIV. Jahrhundert*, pp. 56–57. The conditions in the Greek Church and the activities of popular agitators are discussed by Vasiliev, *Byzantine Empire*, II. 366 ff., and by Diehl, *Byzance*, bk. III., ch. IV.

We have still to consider the military side of the activities of the first sultans, and here we come into a most difficult subject, on which the final word can not be said yet. Ibn Baṭūṭāh, recounting his experiences in Anatolia in the period just after the conquest of Brusa and Nicæa, tells of associations of men which he found in all the towns, and which did much to make his stay pleasant. They were called *Akhi,* and were composed of unmarried men of the same profession who selected a chief and established a community. A house was built and furnished. The members of the association worked all day and brought to the chief the money which they earned. With this the necessary supplies were bought. The whole thing was on a communal basis, but beyond providing for the exigencies of everyday life the Akhi made a special point of housing and entertaining strangers. The great Arab traveler was immensely impressed with this organization and its hospitality. He says specifically that at Brusa he stayed at one of their hospices.[72]

Exactly what were these associations, which, incidentally, had a certain religious basis? Hammer believed that the religious orders of the Islamic world were the prototypes of the orders of chivalry in the Western world. There are some recent writers who still insist that not only the medieval orders, like the Templars, but later Christian organizations like the Society of Jesus, drew their inspiration from this source.[73] Whatever the truth in this matter may be, considerable progress has been made of late in the study of the Akhi organizations. These recent investigations have been based, in very large part, upon the Futūvvet-nāmé, or Book of Chivalry, written, so it seems, in the fourteenth century by a certain Yaḥyā ben Khalīl. Chivalry is perhaps a misleading term, for the Futūvva included all the ideas which we associate with chivalry, together with the moral ideas of Moslem religious brotherhood and the ideas of professional solidarity. The word Akhi does not come from the Arab word for brother, as Ibn Baṭūṭāh thought, but is a purely Turkish word meaning knightly or noble. It is likely, therefore, that the Akhi were Turkish organizations fitting into the general framework of Moslem chivalry or Futūvva. They go back at least to the time of the Caliph Nasir (1180–1225) for

[72] *Voyages d'Ibn Batoutah,* II. 260 ff.

[73] Joseph von Hammer, Sur les Passages relatifs à la Chevalerie dans les Historiens Arabes (*Journal Asiatique,* ser. 5, VI. 282–290); D. B. Macdonald, p. 219; G. Bonet-Maury, Les Confréries Religieuses dans l'Islamisme et les Ordres Militaires dans le Catholicisme (*Transactions of the Third International Congress for the History of Religions,* Oxford, 1908, II. 339–345).

the Arab sources tell of his reformation of the organization and his protectorate over it.[74]

Following suggestions made by Huart and Babinger, Giese first worked out the connection between these Akhi organizations and the early Ottomans. He was able to mention by name a number of Akhi associated with the first sultans, and recalled that the chronicles tell us that Osman surrounded himself with "fast young men" who evidently belonged to these groups. Kramers, in the article already referred to, went so far as to suggest that Osman may himself have been a leader of the Akhi, who joined Ertoghrul as he passed through Osmanjiq, a town which seems to have been a veritable center of dervish organizations.[75] But these investigators tended to lay too much emphasis on the religious aspects of the Akhi organizations, and to identify them with the dervish orders. Taeschner was able to show that in Angora, for example, they played a prominent part in governing the city during the fourteenth century, and German scholars who have interested themselves in the problem are now inclined to put more stress on the mundane side of their activity.[76]

So far as one can determine, the Akhi were the more prominent men in the community, joined in professional groups and living according to certain religious precepts. Their rise and spread in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries may well have had some connection with the expansion of trade and the revival of towns under Seljuq rule. In Anatolia the town or municipality had not played a

[74] Hermann Thorning, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis des Islamischen Vereinswesens* (Türkische Bibliothek, no. 16, Berlin, 1913); the articles of Vladimir Gordlevski, in *Zapiski Kollegii Vostokovedov*, II. [1926–1927] 235–248, and *Izvestia Akademii Nauk SSSR* (1927), pp. 1171–1194; Köprülüzāde Meḥmed Fu'ād, *Türk Edebiyyātinde ilk Mütesavvifler, passim*, and especially Franz Taeschner, Beiträge zur Geschichte der Achis in Anatolien (*Islamica*, IV. [1929] 1–47). On the Futūvva, see M. Deny, Fütüwwet-name et Romans de Chevalerie Turcs (*Journal Asiatique*, ser. 11, XVI. [1920] 182–183); H. Ritter, Zur Futuwwa (*Der Islam*, X. [1920] 244–250); Franz Taeschner, Das Futuvvetnāme des Jahjā b. Halīl (*Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*, XXI. [1928] 1065–1066) and his more recent article, Die Türkischen Futuvvetnames und ihre Religionsgeschichtliche Stellung (*Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, LXXXIV. [1930] 87–88).

[75] F. Giese, Das Problem der Entstehung des Osmanischen Reiches (*Zeitschrift für Semitistik*, II. [1923] 246–271); Kramers, Wer war Osman? (*Acta Orientalia*, VI. [1927] 242–254).

[76] See especially Taeschner's review of Rudolf Tschudi's *Vom Alten Osmanischen Reich* (Tübingen, 1930), in *Deutsche Literaturzeitung*, ser. 3, I. [1930] 1664–1667, and the discussion in Taeschner, Die Türkischen Futuvvetnames, etc. (*Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, LXXXIV. [1930] 87–88).

prominent rôle before this period. Individual cities may have reached a considerable degree of prosperity and of population through political or economic causes, but so far as we can see the rulers of the surrounding territory always kept a firm and solid grip upon these urban centers. The Seljuq and Mongol conquests appear to have wrought a decided change in the situation. In Armenia the Mongols built new roads and cleared the old ones of bandits and robbers. During the thirteenth century many of the towns along the chief trading routes displayed unusual prosperity and the population took an active part in seeing that this prosperity was maintained. One of the most striking ruins in the capital of the Armenian dynasty of the Bagratids at Ani is the tremendous caravanserai of the city, which recent investigations have shown was built by the merchant guilds during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, when the very existence of the town was not noted in the historical annals. Similar great structures in this area and in other districts of Asia Minor were constructed, enlarged, or rebuilt at this time. The private organizations which did the work exhibited an energy and enjoyed a control of resources that is truly quite startling.[77]

The immensity of the Mongol conquests made extensive trade much simpler than it had been. It was the time of the journeys of Marco Polo, Plan de Carpini, and other famous European travelers. The towns on the main routes began to boom. But it seems that the arrangements for the escort of travelers, as well as for their reception and housing, were managed by the merchant guilds rather than by the Mongol authorities. The influence of the merchants certainly grew rapidly at this time. When disturbances closed the trade routes, these people tended to emigrate *en masse* to more fertile centers of enterprise, such as the Crimea, Constantinople, and the various harbor towns of the Levant.

Were the Akhi guilds pure and simple? It depends on what is meant by the term. They bear little resemblance to the guilds which were widespread in the Greek world from Hellenistic times onward, or to the Byzantine guilds, of which we know relatively little. These organizations were more strictly economic. The Byzantine guilds

[77] The best general sketch is still that of W. Heyd, *Histoire du Commerce du Levant au Moyen Age*, translated by Furcy Raynaud (Leipzig, 1883), II. 3 ff., 73 ff. See also the itineraries through Asia Minor in F. Pegolotti, *Pratica della Mercatura* (Pagnini, ed., Lisbon, Lucca, 1766), pp. 7–13. On Ani, see the detailed archæological study of N. Marr, in the *Revue des Études Arméniennes*, vol. I. [1921], no. 4, pp. 395–410).

were under close government supervision and resembled the medieval guilds of Western Europe more than the associations of the Islamic world.[78] W. M. Ramsay, who was struck by Ibn Baṭūṭāh's account of the Akhi, tried to establish a connection between them and the Xenoi Tekmoreioi, or Bearers of the Sign, who were organized along similar lines, had distinct religious connections, kept a communal treasury, and made hospitality one of their chief duties. He pointed out that Ibn Baṭūṭāh found the Akhi chiefly in towns of Anatolia where there was a large non-Greek and presumably pre-Greek population. One thing is certain. The Akhi were economic organizations.[79] Ibn Baṭūṭāh says that at Adalia the society consisted of two hundred silk merchants. But they also pursued political, perhaps even military, activities. The old Turkish chronicler, 'Ašiḳpašazāde, says that there were parallel organizations of dervishes and soldiers, and even a women's association. Of these we know nothing definite. We are not even able to speak with great assurance of the Akhi. But if Osman was an Akhi leader, if he had these people in his *entourage,* the fact is of great importance. It helps to explain not only the Ottoman push to the cities of the Bithynian lowlands, but also the remarkable ability shown by the Ottomans from the very beginning in matters of state organization. For a people purely nomadic or even seminomadic this was truly astonishing.

The "fast young men" in Osman's following, whether they were Akhi or members of some kindred organization, may well have been the forerunners of the Janissaries. The origin of this famous body is still a mystery, though it can be said with assurance that H. A. Gibbons's theory that the rapid Islamization of Christian territory was due in large measure to the tribute in Christian children exacted by the sultans, is devoid of foundation. Neither Ibn Baṭūṭāh nor Schiltberger (late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries), nor La Broquière (mid-fifteenth century) speaks of such a tribute in connection with the organization of the Ottoman forces. Their silence can not, of course, be taken as conclusive, but the system as we know it from a later

[78] See Franz Poland, *Geschichte des Griechischen Vereinswesens* (Leipzig. 1909), and the article, Berufsvereine, in Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopedie der Classischen Altertumswissenschaft,* Supplementband IV. [1924], pp. 155–211; Hans Gehrig, Das Zunftwesen Konstantinopels im 10 Jahrhundert (*Jahrbücher für Nationaleḳonomie und Statistik,* ser. 3, XXXVIII. [1909] 577–596; Albert Stöckle, Spätrömische und Byzantinische Zünfte (*Klio,* Beiheft 9, Leipzig, 1911); G. Zoras, *Le Corporazioni Bizantine* (Rome, 1931).

[79] Ramsay, I. 97.

period is the more remarkable in that it was contrary to the essential principles of Islam, which prescribed that all non-Moslems outside the Arabian Peninsula should be free to practice their religion on condition that they paid a capitation tax. Nothing like this levy of children can be found in the history of any other Moslem state.[80] The Janissaries evidently grew out of an earlier body of troops known as the Yaḥyā, which, in turn, may have been a derivation from some sort of military, semireligious organization. There was much in the organization of the Janissaries analogous to the Christian orders of knighthood.[81] In any case, the Yaḥyā were a sort of enlisted infantry, established to supplement the irregular cavalry known by the name of *Akinji*. They are interesting because they antedated the first standing armies of France and even the companies of archers in England. If Huart is right, the Janissary corps were modeled on the legions of the Byzantine Empire, which, in turn, were derived from the Roman legions. Throughout the fourteenth century they were probably recruited as they were in the fifteenth, not from the Christian tribute children, but from war prisoners. There was nothing novel in this system. The Turkish Mameluk sultans of Egypt built up their power by means of a slave army, recruited almost exclusively from Christian territory. Impressment and the levy of Christian children were only gradually and irregularly resorted to in Turkey in order to keep the ranks of the regiments filled. The numbers of the Janissaries were very small, even in the time of Soleiman. But their peculiar weapons and their admirable training and discipline seem to have been wonderfully effective in all their engagements with Christian forces.[82]

The Ottoman state, then, rose from among a fairly large number of small principalities that succeeded to the heritage of the sultanate of Rum. Its position was peculiarly favorable, because it made possible considerable conquests at the expense of the moribund Byzantine Empire. But the first sultans had more than a mere horde of nomads to rely upon. There was an efficient military organization which was

[80] Hasluck, vol. II., ch. XL.; J. H. Mordtmann, article, Dewshirme (*Encyclopaedia of Islam*, I. 952–953); Clément Huart, article, Janissaries (*ibid.*, II. 572–574); Menzel, Das Korps der Janitscharen (*Beiträge zur Kenntnis des Orients*, I. [1902–1903] 51–52).

[81] Heinrich Schurtz, Die Janitscharen (*Preussische Jahrbücher*, CXII. [1903] 450–479).

[82] Huart's review of Gibbons's book in *Journal Asiatique*, ser. 11, IX. [1917] 345–350); *id.*, Les Origines de l'Empire Ottoman (*Journal des Savants*, n. s., XV. [1917] 157–166); Giese, *loc. cit.*; Taeschner and Wittek, Die Vezirfamilie der Gandarlyzāde (*Der Islam*, XVIII. [1929] 60–115); Menzel, *loc. cit.*, pp. 50–52.

evidently based upon something resembling merchant guilds and religious orders. These organizations supplied the impetus to the conquest of the Greek cities in Bithynia, they enabled the sultans to establish a governmental system, and they facilitated the conversion of a large part of the Christian population to Islam, thus giving the new state a firm popular basis. Much undoubtedly remains to be learned about them and about the whole early history of the Ottomans. But enough is already known to make possible a thorough revision of ideas that have been current all too long.

William L. Langer,
Robert P. Blake.

Harvard University.

NOTES AND SUGGESTIONS

The Call for Information Concerning the States-General in 1788

By the end of June, 1788, the government of Louis XVI. was in a bad way. Thanks to the resistance of the privileged classes and to the spirit of disobedience in the royal army, Brienne and Lamoignon had failed in their attempt to suppress the parlements, in imitation of Chancellor Maupeou, and to set up the "plenary court". Disorders were rife in many provinces, the administration of justice was suspended nearly everywhere, the royal treasury was empty, and a new loan was impossible. In short, France had all but ceased to function as an organized state.

To relieve the situation, the royal council issued the decree of July 5. Expressing in the preamble a desire to hasten the long deferred convocation of the States-General but confessing ignorance of how to proceed, the council suggested, in effect, a series of questions for nation-wide research and debate. The nine articles of the decree gave specific directions for conducting the quest for information. In the cities and communities where elections to the States-General were likely to be held, the municipal and other officials were required to search in their archives for documents bearing on the elections and to send the results of their discoveries to the syndics of the provincial assemblies and provincial estates. Officials of the various seats of justice were required, and individuals were invited, to do the same. The syndics and "commissions intermédiaires" were expected to study the documents submitted to them, make researches on their own account if deemed advisable, and prepare reports for submission to their respective assemblies and estates. On the receipt of its report, each assembly or group of estates was expected to form an opinion (*un vœu commun*) and address to the keeper of the seals a memorial containing an expression of this opinion. Finally, all the scholars of the kingdom, and particularly the members of the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres of the king's good city of Paris, were invited to submit to the keeper of the seals reports and memorials upon the questions here raised. It was expected that the quest for information would be finished and the reports turned in by the end of February, 1789, when,

under the direction of the keeper of the seals, the final synthesis would be made and placed under the eyes of the king, who would then determine the exact procedure for the convocation of the States-General. The question proposed for examination here is the use which the royal administration made of the responses to its call.

Without delay, letters, projects, and memorials began to pour in upon the chancery, and pamphlets, written avowedly in response to the decree, began to appear in the bookstalls. On July 8, the very day that the decree was published, a certain M. Thoumin, of Paris, addressed a letter to the keeper of the seals, offering to make extracts from 188 works which he knew to exist in the "bibliothèque du P. Lelong". The offer was accepted and the correspondence in regard to it was placed in a *dossier* and marked "No. 1".[1] As later communications were received, they were placed in similar *dossiers* and consecutively numbered.

Meanwhile, lengthy memorials were coming in. One dated July 15 came from M. Riche, director of the royal domains at Soissons; another, under date of July 27, from M. Rouzet, *avocat* at the parlement of Toulouse—to mention only a few among many.[2] Clerks of the chancery placed these memorials in *dossiers* and wrote on the folders of the most important ones brief sketches of the authors and résumés of the contents.

The officials who were required by the terms of the decree to make researches in the archives of their various jurisdictions began their task, in some places at least, in July and August. The "bureau de la ville de Paris" began to function on July 29, and in August submitted to the keeper of the seals a great number of documents arranged in seven categories. On July 21, the "commission intermédiaire" of the assembly of the Ile de France sent the decree to the subordinate assemblies of the province with instructions for conducting the quest. On August 9, M. Laurency, "premier échevin de la ville de Houdan", wrote: "We have made the most exact researches in the registers and papers of the hôtel de ville of Houdan for documents concerning the convocation of the States-General and the elections held in consequence. We have found none. . . . If I discover any old man of the country who has knowledge of such, I shall have the honor to inform you."[3] Thus, even before the fall of Brienne, the quest for information

[1] Archives Nationales, B^A 7.

[2] *Ibid.*, 5–6.

[3] C. L. Chassin, *Les Élections et les Cahiers de Paris en 1789*, I. 17–18. Arch. Nat., B^{III} 168, pp. 769–770, 802–806.

was getting under way, which indicates that the decree was taken seriously in official circles.

The dismissal of Brienne and the recall of Necker on August 25-26 produced no immediate change in the government's policy relative to the States-General, for Lamoignon retained the seals and, by virtue of his office, supervised all activities pertaining to this matter. But on September 14 Lamoignon was also dismissed and thereafter Necker had the decisive voice, whenever he was bold enough to use it, in formulating government policy. Barentin, who took the seals on September 19, was a negligible quantity.

On taking the helm, Necker's chief preoccupation, as he himself tells us, was "to steer the frail ship of state, without running aground or foundering, up to the opening of the States-General".[4] To reach that port of safety, he had to watch carefully the rolling billows of public opinion. Believing that there was a general demand for the recall of the parlements which had been suspended since May 8, he allowed those formidable bodies to return without condition. But no sooner was the parlement of Paris back in its palace of justice than it showed the cloven hoof by declaring, on September 25, that the States-General would be irregular unless convoked and organized as in 1614. The angry surge of public opinion which greeted this declaration caused Necker to tack about and wonder what to do next. Soon the "happy thought"[5] occurred to him that the notables, who, in 1787, had advocated the organization of provincial assemblies with "double representation" and "vote by head", might be recalled for advice. To them he would submit the results of the nation-wide quest for information and let them perform the function which the decree of July 5 had assigned to the provincial assemblies.[6] In consequence, he wrote thus to Barentin on October 18:

> M. de Lamoignon avait recueilli plusieurs mémoires de Paris et des provinces sur la formation des états généraux. . . . Je ne doute pas,

[4] *Sur l'Administration de M. Necker, par lui-même* (1791), p. 31.

[5] J. Necker, *Histoire de la Révolution Française* (n. éd., Paris, 1821), I. 82–83.

[6] That the notables were intended to perform the function which the decree of July 5 had assigned to the provincial assemblies may be inferred from the following semiofficial statement: "Elle [the Assembly of Notables] rendra d'ailleurs superflues les instructions qu'on attendait [de] ces assemblées provinciales; et la convocation prochaine des états généraux [fixed now at January 1] a fait renvoyer celles-ci à l'année prochaine. Il n'y aura donc point de ces assemblées cette année." "Lettre de Paris", dated Oct. 9, 1788, in *Gazette de Leyde*, no. 84.

monseigneur, que toutes ces pièces ne vous ayent été transmises et que vous n'en receviez d'autres journellement, des différents bailliages et sièges de justice des provinces suivant la demande qui leur en a été faite par l'arrêt du 5 juillet. Je vous serai très obligé de m'en faire donner communication. Vous accordez votre confiance sur ce genre de recherches à M. Pastoret de l'*Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*. M. Coster est chargé du même travail près de moi; ils pourraient se concerter pour se transmettre réciproquement toutes les pièces qui nous seront adressées et pour nous en présenter l'analyse et les résultats, si vous voulez bien admettre cette mesure.[7]

Barentin approved the suggestion,[8] and thereafter Coster and Pastoret, working together, with the able assistance of such men as Louis Rondonneau,[9] constituted a fact-finding commission, arranging, organizing, and abstracting documents and systematizing information, for the benefit of the notables.

The notables reassembled on November 6. To guide the assembly in its deliberations, Necker had prepared a series of twenty-five questions and grouped them under four heads: composition, convocation, election, and instructions. The notables would be free to increase or decrease the number of these questions, and even to change the order of them; but, since the fact-finding commission had arranged the documentary information to fit the questions, a change in the order would necessarily cause delay. "Six copies have been made", Necker explained, "of all the extracts and even of most of the original documents, in order that each of your bureaus may be in position to begin at once the researches and discussions which will enable you to arrive at enlightened opinions."[10]

For the purpose of deliberation, the notables were grouped in six committees, or bureaus, as they were called, each composed of twenty-four members and presided over by a prince of the blood. The members of each bureau met in the apartment of its prince-president and occupied seats around a large table.[11] One of the members acted as reporter.

At the first sitting, November 7, each bureau received from Necker a printed copy of the speeches delivered on the preceding day, a manuscript copy of the twenty-five questions, and a bundle of extracts,

[7] Arch. Nat., C 9, C*11 27–29.

[8] *Ibid.*

[9] Maurice Tourneux, *Bibliographie de l'Histoire de Paris pendant la Révolution Française*, I. v.

[10] *Archives Parlementaires*, I. 396.

[11] Five bureaus kept rather full minutes of their sittings. Arch. Nat., C 6–7.

abstracts, and statistical tabulations bearing on the first category of questions. After some time had been devoted in each bureau to organization and to polite formalities, the reporter began the reading of these documents. In the second bureau, over which the Comte d'Artois presided, this reading had not proceeded far before a secretary was dispatched to Necker with the request for further information—for the original document, in fact, from which "an extract numbered eight" had been taken.[12] Already there seems to have been considerable discussion around the big tables, and even criticism, of Necker and his questions. Coster and his assistants were beginning to find the work of the fact-finding commission rather exacting.

On the evening of November 10, a general committee composed of five members from each bureau, including the prince-presidents, met in the apartment of Monsieur and sat about his big table. The purpose of the meeting was to agree on a common plan for the examination of Necker's questions. Here the argument prevailed that, since the fact-finding commission had arranged the documents to fit the questions, it would be inadvisable, for the time being, to disturb this arrangement by changing the order of the questions. So it was agreed that each bureau should first study the questions in the order proposed, and in the light of the information furnished by the director general, expressing preliminary opinions thereon but withholding definite decisions. When this task had been completed, a general committee would meet again and recommend the next step.

For two weeks thereafter the bureaus studied the questions assiduously and plied Necker with requests for further information. He sent back such responses as he was "en état d'y faire d'après les pièces qui ont été rassemblées jusqu'ici". The bureaus found the information inadequate and expressed the hope that more might speedily be furnished, to the end that satisfactory conclusions might be reached. The second bureau worked the hardest and was the hardest to satisfy. Evidence of its veneration for documents is found in the numerous extracts, abstracts, and tabulations attached to its minutes. The other bureaus were only a shade less insistent; their minutes mention great quantities of documents submitted by Necker, sometimes as many as thirty-five in a bundle. Before the two weeks were out, the general public knew that a majority in each of the six bureaus had expressed preliminary opinions unfavorable to "the vote by head" and that "double representation" for the third estate had been favored in only

[12] Arch. Nat., C 6, reg. 3.

one bureau—that over which Monsieur presided—by the narrow margin of one vote.[13]

Necker, watching as ever the drift of public opinion, was uneasy at the prospect of these preliminary opinions becoming definitive. On November 22, accordingly, he submitted to the bureaus "le précis des demandes et réclamations adressées depuis quelques temps au gouvernement par diverses villes, districts et provinces".[14] Here was a new kind of document, whose origin needs to be explained.

The declaration of the parlement of Paris on September 25 had roused the third estate as nothing else had done. It was followed ten days later by the announcement that the notables, who were nearly all members of the privileged classes, would reassemble early in November to advise the king on the very point raised by the parlement. What was that advice likely to be? Though some hoped for the best, the opinion prevailed that the notables would be likely to agree with the parlement; for history and tradition, that is, the *documents,* were all on that side. If the third estate was to have in the next States-General an influence in proportion to its numerical strength, its wealth and intelligence, and its general importance, it would have to discard documents and appeal to the dictates of reason and justice. The month of October, accordingly, saw the beginning of a widespread popular movement, which gained heat and intensity in proportion to the certainty that the notables would agree with the parlement. Clean-cut and positive now were the demands of the hitherto inarticulate third estate: "double representation" and "vote by head". These demands were broadcast through the instrumentality of pamphlets addressed to the public and "réclamations" addressed to the government.

When on November 22 the notables received from Necker the *précis* of these "demandes et réclamations", the bureaus had just about completed the preliminary task, as set by the agreement of November 10, and were nearly ready to appoint a second general committee to recommend further procedure. The first bureau listened to the reading of the *précis* on the 24th and passed without discussion to the regular business of the day. The second bureau let it lie on the table until the 26th, when "le bureau a arrêté que cet extrait serait joint au

[13] Oscar Browning, *Despatches from Paris,* II. 116–117. *Gazette de Leyde,* nos. 95, 96, 97. M. F. A. de Lescure, *Correspondance Secrète Inédite sur Louis XVI., Marie-Antoinette, la Cour et la Ville de 1777 à 1792,* II. 304. A. E. Bergh, ed., *The Writings of Thomas Jefferson,* VII. 184, 191.

[14] Minutes of the first bureau, 15th sitting. Arch. Nat., C 6, reg. 2. Mentioned also in the minutes of the other bureaus under dates of Nov. 22–26.

procès-verbal, et quant aux demandes des villes"—they would be referred to the States-General.[15] The action of the other bureaus need not be mentioned in detail, for the impounded wrath of the majority of the notables was soon to overflow in another manner.

The second general committee met in the apartment of Monsieur on November 27 and by intercalation increased Necker's questions from twenty-five to fifty-four. These were now to be given definitive answers. At a second sitting of the committee, November 28, the Prince de Conti, president of the sixth bureau, addressing Monsieur as the presiding officer, delivered himself as follows:

> Monsieur, je dois à l'acquit de ma conscience, à la position critique de l'Etat et à ma naissance, de vous faire observer que nous sommes inondés d'écrits scandaleux, qui répandent de toutes parts dans le royaume le trouble et la division. La monarchie est attaquée; on veut son anéantissement, et nous touchons à ce moment fatal. Mais, Monsieur, il est impossible qu'enfin le roi n'ouvre pas les yeux, et que les princes ses frères n'y coopèrent pas. Veuillez donc, Monsieur, représenter au roi combien il est important, pour la stabilité de son trône, pour les lois et le bon ordre, *que tous les nouveaux systèmes soient proscrits à jamais, et que la constitution et les formes anciennes soient maintenues dans leur intégrité.*[16]

This was the response to the demands of the pamphlets and the "réclamations" of the cities.

The "motion", so-called, was put by Monsieur to the general committee, which referred it by unanimous vote to the bureaus for action. There it was discussed the next day with approval, at least in some of them; but before formal action could be taken in any of them, the matter was dropped by express command of the king,[17] acting, of course, on Necker's advice. The bureaus now turned their undivided attention to the fifty-four questions and answered them all in accordance, as nearly as possible, with the evidence found in the old records. At the final sittings, a committee in each bureau drew up a careful report, containing the questions, the answers, and the reasons for the answers, which the president of the bureau submitted to the king. Monsieur's bureau, and that by the narrowest possible margin, favored "double representation" for the third estate.[18]

Again the helmsman of "the frail ship of state" was in a quandary.

[15] Minutes of the second bureau, 17th sitting. Arch. Nat., C 6–7, reg. 3–4.

[16] *Arch Parl.*, I. 402.

[17] Minutes of the second bureau, 20th sitting; fourth bureau, 18th sitting. Arch. Nat., C 7. *Gazette de Leyde*, no. 100.

[18] *Arch. Parl.*, I. 405.

Should he take the risk of running aground on the reef of documentary evidence or should he drift away from that danger on the tide of public opinion? His embarrassment was increased by the fact that others, particularly Barentin, were tugging at the wheel. Finally, on December 27, he persuaded the royal council, albeit with difficulty, to chart the course in accordance with the advice of Monsieur's bureau: the third estate was to have the "double representation" but the manner of voting was left, tacitly, for the States-General to determine.

To a small commission was now assigned the task of drafting detailed regulations for holding the elections. As originally constituted on January 4, the personnel of this commission was as follows: La Michodière, D'Ormesson, Vidaud de la Tour, and La Galaizière, *conseillers d'état,* and Valdec de Lessart, *maître des requêtes.* To these were soon added Bacquencourt, *conseiller d'état,* Louis Rondonneau, and Coster. Three of these—Vidaud, Bacquencourt, and Galaizière—had served as reporters for their respective bureaus in the Assembly of Notables and had drafted, or assisted in drafting, the reports which their bureaus had submitted to the king. Coster and Rondonneau will be remembered in connection with the fact-finding commission previously mentioned. Thus a majority, perhaps all of them, were thoroughly familiar with the results of the nation-wide quest for information and with the work of the notables.[19] Meeting under the nominal chairmanship of Barentin, they drafted as the first installment of their work the regulations that bear the date of January 24. A comparison of these regulations with the responses of the notables reveals the intimate relationship.[20] One is tempted to say that the commission adopted point by point the advice of Monsieur's bureau.

Thus the nation-wide quest for information, inaugurated by Brienne and Lamoignon, was carried out by Necker and, to all intents and purposes, in accordance with the provisions of the original decree. The provincial assemblies, it is true, did not meet, as was contemplated by the decree, to canvass the results of the quest and to express opinions

[19] A. Brette, *Recueil de Documents relatifs à la Convocation des États Généraux de 1789,* I. 38–39, 367–368. *Gazette de Leyde* (1789), no. 5. Minutes of the third and fourth bureaus, Arch. Nat., C 7, reg. 5. A. Lesort, La Commission de la Convocation des États Généraux Constituée par l'Arrêt du Conseil du 4 janvier, 1789 (*La Révolution Française,* Jan., 1930), p. 8.

[20] Necker himself wrote: "Ils [the notables] jetèrent un grand jour sur toutes les questions essentielles et tracèrent au gouvernement la marche qu'il devait suivre." *Histoire de la Révolution Française,* I. 85. *Cf. Sur l'Administration de M. Necker,* p. 47.

(*vœux*) thereon; time was too pressing for that; but the notables met and performed in a measure the duties originally assigned to the assemblies. During the first two months of 1789, the final synthesis was made, as contemplated by the decree, under the direction of the keeper of the seals and submitted to the king for sanction and for promulgation as electoral regulations.

The University of North Carolina. MITCHELL B. GARRETT.

DOCUMENTS

Advertising a Medieval University[1]

FLEXNER's study of universities, American, English, and German, has called to our attention the remarkable advertising system developed by some of our American institutions. University advertising is not an American invention. In 1229 a letter was sent by the faculty of the University of Toulouse "to all the universities of the world", setting forth the natural advantages of the site and the intellectual glories of the university.[2] It was, however, no more flowery than the one published below, emanating from the University of Naples.

Charles I. revived and enlarged the University of Naples and resolved to attract to it scholars from all parts of Europe. In 1272 he sent out a circular letter beginning: "This is written to all the doctors and students of Paris."[3] At the end of the document is appended a note to the effect that an identical letter had been sent to the members of the University of Orleans.

Duke University. DOROTHY LOUISE MACKAY.

After our war-like toils and labors . . . we eagerly turn our attention to furthering the arts of peace in our kingdom of Sicily. Among other things, and most important of all, we have provided for our subjects a center of learning[4] which is once again to thrive and open into flower, where the unlettered shall learn, and the learned shall benefit in the measure that they give to others; and there shall come forth men endowed with ability in various fields and with the mental qualities necessary to teach brilliant people properly. Such a center, indeed, which existed in Naples from time immemorial, has just been reopened with modern improvements, with assurance of suitable protection, and appropriate favors to help its development; [it has been established] in this very city which stood high in the opinion of the ancient scholars, and which is praised by them for the purity of its air, its incomparable and healthful location, its richness in all

[1] During the academic year 1928–1929 the writer held the European Fellowship of the American Association of University Women for the study of the history of the medieval university of Orleans. It was in the course of this research that this letter came to her attention.

[2] H. S. Denifle, *Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis*, I. 129; L. J. Paetow, ed., *Morale Scolarium of John of Garland*, pp. 90–91.

[3] J. C. del Giudice, *Cod. Diplom. del Regno di Carlo I.*, p. 252, n.; Marcel Fournier, *Les Statuts et Privilèges des Universités Françaises*, vol. I., no. 10.

[4] "Studium litterarum."

products of the soil, its convenience for communication by sea with other parts of Italy; hence, not without reason, but rather after all these numerous advantages have been weighed, has the *studium* won the right to be founded. We have brought here men learned in all branches of scholarship, so that there may come to drink of this university, as from an abundant well, both young and old, the beginners and those who have attained recognition, those wishing to study the trivium and the quadrivium, canon and civil law, as well as theology. Wherefore, let them come, in so far as they are able, to this university, as [they might come] to a great feast which is ornamented by the presence of illustrious guests and which overflows with an abundance and variety of refreshing food. You, we invite individually and collectively, and we wish you to participate in what we possess. [We invite] all doctors and students coming to this university not only to enjoy the privileges, liberties, and immunities which usually fall to the share of a university, but we also promise to continue in the future to pour upon them in abundance, manifold other similar favors and benefits which customarily, and rightfully so, emanate from royal munificence.

Dr. Channing and the Creole Case

On October 27, 1841, the *Creole,* a brig of Richmond, Virginia, set sail from Hampton Roads, bound for New Orleans with a cargo of tobacco and 135 slaves. On November 7 some of the slaves revolted, killing a slave dealer named Hewell and forcing the crew to steer for Nassau. At Nassau the British attorney-general took charge of the ship, and after some delay held nineteen negroes on charges of mutiny and murder, releasing the others despite the protest of the American consul. The indignation of Southern senators and representatives led to much discussion of the affair in Congress, and on January 29, 1842, Daniel Webster, then Secretary of State, addressed a letter of instructions to Edward Everett, minister to England. Webster based his claims, not on any conception of rights to fugitive slaves, but on the theory that, if a vessel was carried by accident or force into a foreign port, there should be no interference with the cargo. Great Britain, on the other hand, maintained that, in this case as in others, the negroes were freed by touching British soil. The disagreement assumed considerable importance in the negotiations between Webster and Lord Ashburton in the spring and summer of 1842, but it was finally decided that the case should be arbitrated, and in 1853 Joshua Bates, acting as umpire, ruled that the British government must pay $110,330 indemnity.[1]

[1] J. B. Moore, *International Arbitrations,* I. 410–412; IV. 4375–4378. A. B. Hart, *Slavery and Abolition, 1831–1841,* pp. 294–295. G. W. Julian, *The Life of Joshua R.*

While the spokesmen of the slaveholders were fulminating against the British government, and Webster was maneuvering to put the case on the safest possible grounds, antislavery men in the North were, for the most part, comparatively indifferent. Dr. William Ellery Channing, however, believed, even before Webster's letter was written, that important issues were involved. After consulting with his young friend, Charles Sumner, he determined to write a pamphlet, which appeared in two sections.

The following letters, hitherto unpublished, throw light both on the composition of the pamphlet and the response to it. The letter to Thomas Thornely, M.P., Liverpool merchant and a correspondent of Dr. Channing's for more than ten years, indicates how clearly the latter's conception of the case was formulated by the end of 1841. Robert C. Winthrop's response to Channing's request for documents is characteristically cautious.[2] Sumner also furnished documents and offered many suggestions.[3] When the first part of the pamphlet appeared early in April, Sumner replied to an anonymous critic in the Boston *Advertiser*.[4] Three letters approving of the pamphlet appear below. Channing immediately set to work on the second section, in which he supplemented his discussion of Webster's letter to Everett by defining the attitude that he believed the Northern states and the Federal government should take toward slavery.[5] Finishing his work early in May, he set out with his family for a trip through Pennsylvania, leaving to Sumner the responsibility of correcting the proofs. On this journey Channing was taken seriously ill, but he recovered and was able to spend the summer in Lenox, Massachusetts. *The Duty of the Free States* was, however, the last of his carefully prepared writings, for he died the following autumn.[6]

Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute. GRANVILLE HICKS.

Giddings, pp. 118–128. G. T. Curtis, *Life of Daniel Webster*, II. 52–54, 104–106, 119–123.

[2] Robert C. Winthrop (1809–1894) had been elected to the House in 1840. Channing's letter to Winthrop, asking for documents, has been printed in *Proceedings* of the Massachusetts Historical Society, XVIII. 24.

[3] See E. L. Pierce, *Memoir and Letters of Charles Sumner*, II. 199, 202–205.

[4] Boston *Advertiser*, Apr. 14, 18, and 25, 1842.

[5] Published in *The Works of William Ellery Channing* (Boston, 1842), VI. 231–373.

[6] It was not, however, his last utterance on the subject of slavery, for on Aug. 1, 1842, the eighth anniversary of the beginning of the emancipation of the slaves in the West Indies, he delivered an address in the meeting-house at Lenox. See *Works*, VI. 376–420.

I.

W. E. Channing to Thomas Thornely[7]

Boston. Dec. 31 - 1841 -

My dear Sir—

The last two steam-packets from Liverpool have confirmed your accounts of the pacifick disposition of your country towards the United States—and the war-fever has sensibly abated here. A recent transaction has however awakened some feeling at the South. I refer to the case of the Creole, a vessel employed a month or two ago in transporting slaves from Virginia to New Orleans, of which the slaves got possession after a conflict in which they killed one or two men. They then compelled the crew to carry them to New Providence, where those of their number, about nineteen, who were concerned in the killing, were imprisoned, and the rest, above a hundred, were, notwithstanding the remonstrances of our consul, left to go free. This affair has stirred up the South to much angry menace, and one member of Congress[8] has been foolish enough to talk of a retaliatory assault on New Providence. I trust that England will use this opportunity to prove her immoveable fidelity to the principles of justice and humanity which she has espoused. You have declared, that whoever puts foot on your soil is free, that the State shall not exert its power to maintain the claims of the slaveholder, that you will not create slavery by sending back those who have escaped from it. I am deeply humbled, when I think of my country as arrayed against these principles. You cannot waver. Lord Morpeth,[9] talking to me of this affair said, "I would sooner give up Canada, than give up a slave." As I heard him, I felt that England had something to boast of. Would to God that all your policy were as just and liberal as that which you have adopted towards the enslaved, and toward Africa. I should then be almost tempted to forsake my own country, that I might live under the empire of justice and freedom. But humanity has charges and complaints against England as against America. I do not wonder that men who want faith in God, look despondingly on human affairs every where. No nation has much to boast of.

I have spoken of Lord Morpeth. On his first visit to our city, I was absent, but I have seen him often during his second, and I hope he will be tempted to visit us again. He has given much pleasure and I hope he has received some. I have but one complaint to make of him. He does not communicate with us as freely about publick affairs as we desire,—and yet it is very possible that we are unreasonable in this particular.

There are fears, I know not how just, that an attempt will be made during this session of Congress, to annex Texas to our country. I have

[7] This letter is in the possession of Harvard University Library.

[8] Senator Alexander Barrow (1801–1846) of Louisiana. *Congressional Globe*, 27 Cong., 2 sess., XI.[1] 47–48.

[9] George William Frederick Howard (1802–1864), afterwards seventh Earl of Carlisle, M. P. from 1826 to 1841 and again after 1842. He visited Boston late in 1841. For his impressions of Channing. see his *Travels in America* (New York, 1851), pp. 10–13; also the extracts from Morpeth's manuscript diary made by E. L. Pierce and now in the possession of Harvard University Library.

trusted that England will not look quietly on a movement of this kind, but that she will join with all the powers holding islands in the gulph of Mexico in protesting against it.

We hear much of the distress among the poorer classes of England, and indeed of general suffering among the industrious classes. Will not the effect be, to unite more closely those portions of society which suffer from unequal legislation, and which for want of union have failed to exert their just influence on government.[10]

Very truly
Yr. friend
Wm. E. Channing.

II.

R. C. Winthrop to W. E. Channing[11]

Washington, D. C.
January 3d. 1841[12]

Rev. and Dear Sir,

It will give me great pleasure to comply with the request contained in your letter of the 30th ulto. received yesterday. I send you this morning the Documents[13] accompanying the President's Message, among which are the letters of Mr. Stevenson[14] and Lord Aberdeen.[15] I believe these are the only papers touching the subject of slavery in any way, which have yet been published. Should I fail to send you any Document, on this or any other subject, which you desire to see, I pray you to give me a hint without ceremony.

I fear to enter upon the topics which you have touched. They are surrounded with difficulties. It seems as if our country was destined to fulfill the idea of the old Roman, Video meliora proboque, deteriora sequor. As one of its law-makers, I hope I may escape the self-reproach of the latter clause of the quotation; it will always afford me great pleasure, if you will help me towards more fully realizing the satisfaction implied in the former clause.

I am, with great respect,
Your obt. Servant
Robt. Winthrop.

[10] The closing paragraph of this letter, dealing with the repudiation of state debts, has been published in W. H. Channing, *The Life of William Ellery Channing* (Boston, 1880), pp. 587–588.

[11] This letter is in the possession of the Rhode Island Historical Society.

[12] A slip for 1842.

[13] *House Documents*, 27 Cong., 2 sess., vol. I., no. 1.

[14] Andrew Stevenson (1784–1857), minister to England, 1836–1841.

[15] George Hamilton Gordon (1784–1860), fourth Earl of Aberdeen, British secretary of state for foreign affairs, 1841–1846.

III.

James Kent[16] to W. E. Channing

New York, April 18, 1842

Dear Sir:

I have the pleasure to acknowledge the Receipt of your pamphlet on "The Duty of the Free State" which you did me the Honor to send me, and my sense of your excellent and distinguished Reputation makes me desirous of making a direct acknowledgment. I need not say that I adopt entirely your principles in respect to Slavery and especially as to the Creole Case. I never thought that the Letter of the Secretary of State to Mr. Everett on that Case did any credit to our Government. On the contrary, I condemned its doctrines as untrue and unjust and I thought it had the appearance in its Language and manner of a tendency to acquire Southern popularity at the expense of Principle. The Doctrine inferrible from that communication I consider as totally sound. The article in the *American Jurist*[17] for April and printed at Boston on the Creole Case, is the most deceptive as a *legal* argument of any I have seen.

The civilized world I hope is too wise to allow of war on such small pretexts as most of those angry claims put forward in that Country. As to the case of Slavery in the Southern States, I am for confining its operation and effects to the territorial jurisdictions in which it exists, and not a foot beyond them except so far as we are bound by the Constitution of the U. S. to surrender fugitives. Nor on the other hand do I approve of any interference on the part of abolitionists with the internal or domestic Institutions of the Southern States. I think they ought to be let alone, and time, self-interest and reflection will gradually undermine domestic slavery in these States, as it has done in N. York and other Northern States. I do not believe that a sudden and general abolition would be expedient or wise. On this subject, I differ from Mr. W. Jay,[18] whom I greatly respect. I condemn equally ultraism as to the Temperance Reform, and I abhor the efforts made to abolish wine even from the Sacrament, as it tends to desecrate that ordinance and cast a Shade over the Character and conduct of our Saviour.

But I ought to apologize for saying anything on the Subject with a Gentleman so far my superior in every thing that belongs to such Discussion. My object in this letter was merely to express my deep sense of your Merits and my great respect for your Character, but I find of late that it is somewhat difficult to check the narrative Propensities of any Person on the verge of 79 years. I am, however, thank God, well and active, and get

[16] James Kent (1763–1847), author of *Commentaries on American Law* and chancellor of New York state from 1814 to 1823. This letter is in the possession of the Rhode Island Historical Society.

[17] The Case of the Creole, an article signed "J. C." in the *American Jurist and Law Magazine*, XXVII. 79–110.

[18] William Jay (1789–1858), jurist and publicist, active worker for peace and abolition.

off this afternoon on a journey as far South as Carolina merely to meet Spring and for amusement and pleasure.

I am Dear Sir
With great respect and Esteem
Your obd't Ser't

James Kent.

IV.

S. P. Chase to W. E. Channing[19]

Cincinnati, May 3, 1842.

Rev. Dr. Channing
Boston:
Dear Sir:

I have read with great pleasure your admirable criticism upon the Dispatch of our Secretary of State to the American Minister at London in reference to the Creole, and though personally an entire stranger to you and probably unknown to you even by reputation, I am unwilling to deny myself the pleasure of expressing to you my thanks for the service which you have thus rendered to the country. I have however an additional motive for writing. I learn that you propose to follow up the pamphlet already before the public by another upon the duties of the Free States in the present crisis. As this is a subject on which I have bestowed much reflection I have thought it not impossible that the views which I have taken of it might be deemed worthy of your consideration. I send you therefore a pamphlet and a newspaper, one containing an address to the People of this State, adopted and promulgated by a Convention of the Liberty Party at the city of Columbus in Dec. last, the other containing an article entitled Considerations for Christian Voters published in the Watchman of the Valley,[20] a Religious Newspaper printed in this city.

In relation to the principles contained in the address I have had some correspondence and conversation with citizens of Slaveholding States and am happy to find that among the most intelligent and liberal comparatively little exception is taken to the views which it contains. One distinguished gentleman, himself a wealthy Slaveholder, writes thus: "The ground upon which you stand is immovable, the cause which you advocate is your country's, the rights which you vindicate belong to mankind all are akin to immortality they cannot perish. I love my own native land touch not her honor. I love the Union—tis my Shield and sword the ark of my political safety preserve it and I am with you." I have reason to believe that these sentiments are not uncommon in the South: though the utterance of them is suppressed by the fear of being denominated an abolitionist. If the action against slavery can be directed against the unconstitutional continuance and sanction of it by the federal Government, leaving each State free to act upon the subject according to her own views of expediency and duty I cannot but think that thousands will be found throughout the South deeply sympathizing with them who are active in the contest. I have

[19] This letter is in the possession of the Rhode Island Historical Society.

[20] I have been unable to locate either the pamphlet or a file of the *Watchman of the Valley*. I should be grateful for information concerning either.

endeavored in the two documents which I forward to you to place the question of the political duty of American citizens in relation to slavery upon its true basis. It seems to me a matter of no small importance while the united and vigorous action of all whether of the South or of the North should be invoked against Slavery wherever it comes within the reach of the constitutional action of Congress, that each state should be left absolutely free to act upon the subject as she may see fit. Upon this ground I have been anxious to place so far as my humble influence has extended, the action of the Liberty Party in relation to slavery. The great principle of action is the same throughout the country—that all men are created equal—and this principle ought to govern in State Legislation as well as in National Legislation: but while this is true, it is equally evident that a national party cannot properly, as such, interfere with the local affairs of the several state legislatures. It seems to me important that this truth should be recognized and acted upon, for its practical adoption will remove much of the jealousy and resentment of supposed unauthorized interference now so rife in the Slave States against the Abolitionists. To this end I carefully avoid in my public writings the use even of the term abolitionists which has come to be identified in the minds of southern men with wilful and violent aggression upon their political and proprietary rights. It is inevitable that the simple declaration of the truth will excite odium enough. It seems unnecessary and unwise to enhance it by the use of offensive technics.

While however a great and leading object of the Liberty Party is and should be the deliverance of the Country from the Curse of slavery within the reach of Congressional legislation and from the control of the slave-holding policy and the slave power, another more general but not less prominent aim should be to secure the full enjoyment to each individual man of his rights as an individual. At present Despotism restrains speech, muzzles the press, emasculates literature, paralyzes the pulpit, restricts education, confines locomotion. Liberty is opposed to all this, and the aim of a Liberty Party, reaching far beyond the mere abolition of Slavery, should be to establish liberty—to secure to each man the fullest exercise of his faculties and powers consistent with the general good.

These duties of a Liberal Party seem to me to be imposed not only on the free states but upon all freemen throughout the land by the exigencies of the times.

Trusting that you will receive with indulgence these hurried suggestions, and assuring you that I should feel myself highly honored by an expression of your views in reply, I remain, my dear Sir,

Yours most respectfully,

S. P. Chase.

V.

JOSHUA GIDDINGS[21] TO W. E. CHANNING

May 12, 1842.

Revd and Dear Sir

I have just read your "duty of the Free States" which you have had the kindness to forward to me. I have been highly gratified and instructed by its contents. It will do much to inform our people of the free states respecting their *rights* as well as duties.

The difficulty with which the friends of liberty now have to contend is a want of intelligence on this subject among our people of the North. Our public men and politicians have set an example of submission to the dictation of the south in regard to slavery. The Southern politicians have been anxious to bring the power and influence of the Federal government to its support.

While doing this the people of the north have yielded in silence until a tame and dastardly submission has in the eyes of a portion of our people become a *virtue* and every manly effort to extricate ourselves from the dominion of Southern influence is regarded as dishonorable.

Your writings will have a tendency to break this charm and to encourage the people of the free states to think and act for themselves and in defence of their own rights and to spurn all attempts to draw them to the support and aid of slavery in violation of our Constitution and of the natural rights of man.

For what you have already done I tender my heartfelt gratitude, and hope that your efforts will be continued, your life and health preserved, and your labors blessed until slavery shall disappear from our American soil and man shall be disenthralled.

With great respect
I am Sir
Your Obdt sert
J. R. Giddings.

VI.

CHARLES SUMNER TO W. E. CHANNING[22]

Boston May 31st 1842.

My dear Sir,

I have just received a letter from Ld. Morpeth under the date of May 22nd 1842 from the Sulphur Springs of Virginia. I venture to copy a passage for your eye.

"I have to thank you very much for sending to me Dr. Channing's publication, which I wanted extremely to see, and Dr. Howe's very interesting notice of Laura Bridgman.[23] I was very much delighted with

[21] Joshua Giddings (1795–1864), representative from the Western Reserve, had been waging bitter warfare over the *Creole* case in Congress. See Julian, *op. cit.*, pp. 118–128. The letter is in the possession of the Rhode Island Historical Society.

[22] The letter is in the possession of Harvard University Library.

[23] In *Tenth Annual Report* of the Trustees of the Perkins Institution and Massachusetts Asylum for the Blind, to the Corporation (Boston, 1842), pp. 29–45.

Dr. Channing: with the logic, the eloquence, the whole spirit, and I think that unless his countrymen are more under the evil spell even than he supposes, it must do real good. I wish that my countrymen too might have the grace to profit by the admonitions to them which he conveys. I am very glad that he d[illegible]s full justice to them on the subject of slavery because I think it is their one [*sic*], and it is the one point on which they are now subject to such general, I cannot honor it by thinking it altogether such bona fide misrepresentation. On that account, and even[?] more, if it should incidentally assist the reception of his high truths and noble aims by those to whom they are addressed, I will not grudge one or two expressions with respect to England which I, not an impartial judge I admit, do believe to be somewhat beyond the mark; I allude to our being objects of dislike to all other countries, to our being at hostility with the world. If I were called upon, as I certainly am not, to take up my country's cause, without presuming to interpret the feelings of America, I should like very much to abide the issue of a poll, upon the relative estimation and favor between England and France, the two most prominent European countries, by the whole German nation, the Spanish nation (Dr. C would not ask me to include the sugar-growers of Cuba), the Greek nation (I will let the Sultan and Mahomet Ali pair off together), and I will even add the Emperor of Russia himself, who virtually, and on the whole favorably represents his whole people. However, all this is little to the purpose, and all I have further to say respecting Dr. C's work is to beg you to send a copy by the next steamer to the Duchess of Sutherland,[24] etc."—

The *second part* will be printed to-day, so that I hope to be able to send some copies to England by the packet tomorrow. I think the whole forms a tract of very great interest. It cannot fail to do a great deal of good. If the spirit of yr. writings could animate our country a new order of things would arise. I hope that you will find the text free from any very annoying mistakes.

You will see that Mr. Winthrop has resigned his seat in Congress.[25] This is on account of the illness of his wife who has consumption. It was proposed at first to send Mr. Abbott Lawrence,[26] but he excused himself on account of ill health; and Mr. Nathan Appleton[27] was nominated by the party caucus last eveng. I presume he will accept, though it must be much against his inclination to leave his home for a session of Congress during the long and hot summer. He has in every way such a stake in the country, that the people have a right to his services.

Hillard[28] joins me in regards.

Ever sincerely yours,

Charles Sumner.

[24] Harriet Elizabeth Georgiana Leveson-Gower, Duchess of Sutherland (1806–1868), Lord Morpeth's sister.

[25] Winthrop had been in Congress since 1840.

[26] Abbott Lawrence (1792–1855) had served in Congress in 1834 and in 1839–1840.

[27] Nathan Appleton (1779–1861) had been in Congress in 1830. He took Winthrop's place in June, 1842, but Winthrop was reëlected the following November.

[28] George Stillman Hillard (1808–1879), lawyer and author, who at the time shared an office with Sumner.

VII.

W. E. Channing to Charles Sumner[29]

Wilkesbarre. June 4, 1842.

My dear Sir,

I send a few lines in acknowledgement of your two letters. I have been here eleven days, most of which I have spent in my bed, sitting up most of the time only long enough to have my bed put in order. My disease was inflamation of the lungs. A good physician, time, patience and a kind providence have carried me through, and I regard my disease as conquered. I have now only to get strength. The weather here has been beautiful, nor can I ascribe my disease to any exposure growing out of the early season, which my friends will make answerable for the evil. Sleeping on board the canal boat, a thing which I had resolved against is the only imprudence for which I can blame myself. I will thank you to send this to my brother Walter,[30] to whom I shall write soon. This is my first attempt with the pen.

I have received the revised sheets down to page 92—ending, "Texas the best commentary", with *one exception*—I have had duplicates of the sheet from page 25 to 36 inclusive, and the next sheet from page 37 to 38[?] inclusive has not come. The last proof will probably come to day. Will you send me the missing sheet at once?

I ought to speak with great deference when I differ on a European question from Lord Morpeth. What a remarkable contrast between the feelings inspired by France and England. England more disliked and more respected than any nation. France regarded with kindness but with as little of respect as any nation possessing courage can well inspire. Does history give such an example of the entire prostration of a nation's moral power as in France.

I am truly glad of Mr. Appleton's nomination. He is the best man our district can furnish.

With kindest remembrances to Mr. Hillard, I am very truly yours,

Very truly

Yr friend

Wm E Channing

I have not been in a state to read the Revised Sheets with any care. I saw no changes that I heeded. I cannot say, that illness has improved my pages—but they will fall into the hands of people in health. At any rate they will cease to be mine, when given to the world. Happily the children of our brain need no care or nursing, after that moment.

[29] The letter is in the possession of Harvard University Library.

[30] Walter Channing (1786–1876), a prominent Boston physician.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

BOOKS OF ANCIENT AND MEDIEVAL HISTORY

History of Palestine and Syria to the Macedonian Conquest. By A. T. Olmstead, Professor of Oriental History, University of Chicago. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1931. Pp. xxxiii, 664. $7.50.)

In this volume a long need has at last been met. Here we have a really modern, competent history of Syria and Palestine. The author's years of teaching Ancient history have given him the knowledge and perspective to view the history of these two countries in their proper setting as a part of the larger history of the Near East, and not in isolation, as is so often done. He has devoted a considerable space to prehistory and the Hebrews proper do not appear on the scene until comparatively late—until chapter XV. in the book. A considerable sojourn in all the countries of which he writes has given him an intimate, first-hand knowledge that means much to his interpretation of the history; and he has used his knowledge of the original sources to present in direct quotation or in running paraphrase the very words of the ancient writers, thereby imparting to the volume an atmosphere that enhances tremendously its vividness and reality. This, too, has affected the style, which is flowing and vivid, with simple, direct sentence structure.

The volume is beautifully bound and printed, and profusely illustrated. There are 188 cuts, eighteen plans, and a map sheet containing five maps. A chronological chart is unfortunately not included. The proof reading has been done exceptionally well. The only mistake of any moment that the reviewer has noted is "beings" on the last line of page 336, which ought to read "begins". It is to be noted that the lead of the *Old Testament: an American Translation* is followed in the spelling "Benjaminite" as against the common, but incorrect form "Benjamite".

It is evident on every page that the author has kept well abreast of the literature in the field, and all of the important archæological discoveries are duly recorded and used, even the very latest. The latter constitute important new sources of information that supplement at many points the other source material that we have. To date, interpret, and appraise all this extensive material is an exceedingly difficult task. In the present volume Olmstead gives the results of his interpretation and appraisal, but very seldom his reasons therefor, nor has he prepared the way by a series of

preliminary studies, as he did for his *History of Assyria*. A few of these have appeared, but the series is not complete.

Many of the author's interpretations of Biblical history will be interesting to scholars. He makes the Hebrew invasion of Palestine a part of the larger Habiru movement. He identifies Joshua of the Bible with a Joshua that is mentioned in one of the Amarna letters, and makes him a leader of certain Hebrew tribes that invaded northern Palestine about 1400 B.C. He places Moses some two hundred years later as the leader of another group of tribes that invaded southern Palestine. He believes that Yahwism was of southern origin and gradually made its way into the north. His solution of the vexing problem of Isaiah's attitude toward the Assyrians is not to reject the anti-Assyrian prophecies of Isaiah as spurious, as some scholars do, nor to give them a later setting, as others do, but to accept them all at face value and interpret Isaiah as changing his attitude toward the Assyrians. But why the change should have occurred he does not indicate very clearly. As against Torrey's vigorous opinions, he places both Ezekiel and Second Isaiah in the Exile, and accepts the historicity of Ezra and places him before Nehemiah. The Holiness Code he puts in the early post-exilic period and he makes the Priestly Code a Babylonian product connected with Ezra rather than a document more Palestinian than Babylonian, as some believe. In all this he shows his independence of thought and it is clear that he is not bound by any particular school.

Olmstead gives greater credence to certain Biblical narratives than is generally done, even to the extent of accepting many of the statements of the Chronicler. In view of this, it is not a little surprising that he should reject the unanimous statement of all the Biblical writers that the revolt of Jeroboam was religious as well as political and that the bulls erected in Israel were not images of Yahweh, but represent an apostasy from Yahwism. An exactly similar action by Athaliah in Judah is interpreted by Olmstead (p. 400) as an apostasy, so it is all the more surprising that he should interpret Jeroboam's action differently. It is surely an axiom of history that political independence without religious independence was unthinkable in ancient times, and the Biblical writers are unquestionably right in regarding Jeroboam's bulls as a revival of the ancient cult of Israel and an apostasy from the Yahweh cult of Judah.

In his account of Hebrew history, Olmstead has followed very closely the Biblical narrative, shorn of its later idealizations. The result can not but give pause to readers of the conservative school, and yet they can scarcely reject the Biblical evidence. David, Solomon, Jehu, and all the others here appear in their true colors, very human, very true to the times in which they lived, but by no means the saints that they are often depicted. Indeed, this reading of Hebrew history gives us no very high

opinion of the Hebrew people as a whole nor of their rulers, but it does place in striking relief the mighty work of the prophets and makes us wonder all the more how such men could have been the product of such conditions.

The University of Toronto. THEOPHILE J. MEEK.

Alexander der Grosse. Von ULRICH WILCKEN. [Das Wissenschaftliche Weltbild, herausgegeben von P. Hinneberg.] (Leipzig: Quelle and Meyer. 1931. Pp. ix, 316. 12.80 M.)

WILCKEN'S *Alexander* is a masterpiece of historical interpretation. It is a work of kindred spirit with Tarn's account of the great Macedonian in volume VI. of the *Cambridge Ancient History.* Wilcken has had the advantage, which is duly acknowledged, of writing his biography with Tarn's incisive discussion of the salient problems in his possession. Both have set themselves resolutely to the task of disengaging the real Alexander from the rank growth of official glorification, malicious misrepresentation, and legendary falsification to which his marvelous career gave rise. They have arrived at the same general evaluation of the literary sources and the same conception of the deep and enduring significance of Alexander's exploits and personality on the course of history. Neither can be rated as a hero worshiper. Each constructs a setting of large retrospectives and prospectives to exhibit their common conviction that this particular outstanding man controlled and coerced events. The abiding result of his life, as both see it, may be summed up in Wilcken's phrase, "he levelled the way for the development of Greek culture into a world-culture". Yet Wilcken and Tarn alike recognize that his premature death gave victory to the feelings and ideas of racial superiority against which Alexander had fought with all the weapons at his command during the last seven years of his short life.

To be appreciated, Wilcken's book must be read. It is one of the few works addressed to the general public from which the specialist has much to learn. Nowhere else, for example, is the divergence between the ideas of Isocrates and the aims of Philip so precisely formulated. Wilcken attaches more importance than Tarn to the mystic element in Alexander's nature, to the reality of his mythological inheritance as an Epirote Macedonian and a pupil of Homer. Tarn, if I mistake not, thinks of him as more akin in general outlook to Thucydides and Aristotle than, shall we say, to Nicias and Xenophon, with whom Wilcken would not, of course, dream of bringing him into comparison. To Wilcken, Alexander is first of all a Macedonian whom personal enthusiasm for Greek culture led to embrace whole-heartedly the Hellenic desire for revenge on Persia and the Hellenic mission to civilize, that is, to Hellenize the world. To the end

he remained a Macedonian king to the Macedonians and the *hegemon* of the Hellenic League to its members; but by victory he became ruler of the empire of the Persians over whom, no less than over the Carians, Egyptians, and Babylonians, he sought to legitimatize his authority. To broaden the base of his power in Asia he tried to effect a racial fusion of the dominant peoples—the Macedonians and the Iranians.

To Wilcken, unlike Tarn, the ultimate aim of Alexander was universal empire; his *volte-face* on the Hyphasis was a terrible frustration (to be made good later, doubtless), and his alleged *hypomnemata,* authentic proof of his vast designs on the West; his sonship of Zeus, too, was a psychological reality, and his apotheosis by the Greeks a religious recognition devoid of political significance. Wilcken's Alexander was led on and on by mystic fervor, a sense of his own invincibility, and, last but not least, the passion to explore, and to enable others to explore, the unknown parts of the world in which he lived. His scientific interest was as genuine as his interest in commerce. He was a great strategist—the heir in direct descent of Philip and Epaminondas—a master of tactics and of men, a systematic organizer and exploiter of victory, terrible in his anger, swift to repentance, magnanimous to fair foes, generous to a fault, but an exacting taskmaster, extravagant in his emotional outbursts; taking him all in all, inimitable.

I have seldom read a book written with equal clarity, urbanity, and exactness of knowledge.

Harvard University. W. S. Ferguson.

The Archons of Athens in the Hellenistic Age. By William Bell Dinsmoor, Professor of Architecture in Columbia University. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1931. Pp. xviii, 567. $7.50.)

This volume, though it deals mainly with Athenian archons and the technicalities of the Athenian calendar, will be welcome to all students of Hellenistic history, for it coördinates Athenian records with material, carefully analyzed and tabulated, from Delphi, Delos, and Egypt in such a way as to make necessary a revision of much that has been written about the international relations of the Hellenistic states.

Dinsmoor's chief contribution, however, is his rearrangement of the list of Athenian archons during the third century B.C., a period for which ancient records are lacking. He begins with the archonship of Olympiodorus, which, because it lasted two years (294/3 and 293/2), contrary to Athenian law, was in effect a dictatorship under the ægis of Demetrius Poliorcetes. The fortunate discovery of the right half of an inscription previously known enabled Dinsmoor to establish the fact of this dictator-

ship, unsuspected by modern historians, and to succeed, where others had failed, in listing chronologically the successors of Olympiodorus.

The task of reconstructing a list of archons from inscriptions and scattered references in ancient writings has taxed the ingenuity of scholars for many years. In this investigation the most valuable clew was the discovery made by Professor Ferguson, to whom Dinsmoor appropriately dedicates his work, that the secretaries of the Athenian state and certain priests were chosen annually from each of the Athenian tribes in turn according to the fixed official order of the tribes. Occasionally, however, a revolution, such as the dictatorship of Olympiodorus, was followed by a temporary suspension of the cycle, or, as happened later, by the abrupt termination of the cycle before every tribe had had its turn. With the dates of Olympiodorus fixed, Dinsmoor was able to determine the order of succession after the establishment of democratic government in 292, and then to fix and explain later breaks in the cycle. Since Athenian *psephismata* in this period were dated by secretary and archon, Dinsmoor was able to construct a framework into which, by one means or another, most of the known archons of the third century B.C. could be exactly fitted.

In a brief review it is impossible to indicate, except by illustration, the far-reaching consequences of Dinsmoor's contributions to Hellenistic history. From the chronological table in volume VIII. of the *Cambridge Ancient History* I have selected two items for comparison with Dinsmoor's table.

	C. A. H.		Dinsmoor
281	Antigonus takes Athens		(Athens not subject to Macedon between 288 and 263/2)
267	*Early:* Coalition of Athens, Sparta, and Egypt against Antigonus	270	Sept. 2: Alliance of Chremonides; outbreak of war
	Autumn: Chremonides moves the declaration of war		

Dinsmoor has shown that the inscriptions which have been used to prove that Athens was under the control of Antigonus in 281 belong to the period of the Chremonidean War. Likewise, the inscription which has led scholars to date the outbreak of the Chremonidean War in 267, three years after the death of Arsinoe Philadelphus to whose intrigues the war was largely due, are from the year of her death. The methods by which Dinsmoor rearranges archons and inscriptions are sound, and the results, as illustrated above, are reasonable. In the first instance, we can delete from our histories an episode for which no ancient authority exists; in the second, the results of Arsinoe's machinations are now brought into close proximity to her activity.

Dinsmoor also tries to do for the second and first centuries what he

has done so well for the third; but until more evidence is available for certain periods, judgment as to the finality of his detailed conclusions must be suspended.

To the history of the Athenian calendar the second part of the volume makes notable contributions. Here Dinsmoor is particularly interested in the workings of the nineteen year lunar cycle introduced into Athens by Meton in 432 B.C., modified and corrected, first by Callippus in 330, and secondly by Hipparchus in 145 B.C. These investigations take Dinsmoor back into the fifth century, where his theories about the Metonic cycle bring him at times into opposition to views expressed by Meritt in his *Athenian Calendar*. Historians of the Peloponnesian War can not afford to neglect Dinsmoor's analysis of the first two Metonic cycles, though they may not agree with his detailed reconstruction of the calendar.

In conclusion, Dinsmoor must be complimented on the wealth of tables he has provided and on the excellence of his indexes. The book is a veritable reference library on matters connected with Hellenistic chronology and the Athenian calendar. Much of the material is found in no other English work. It is scarcely necessary to add that the book is characterized by sound scholarship and meticulous attention to details.

The University of Cincinnati. ALLEN B. WEST.

Thought and Letters in Western Europe, A.D. 500 to 900. By M. L. W. LAISTNER, Professor of Ancient History in Cornell University. (New York: Dial Press. 1931. Pp. ix, 354. $4.00.)

PROFESSOR LAISTNER'S book will be welcomed by all students in the medieval field and should be especially valuable and illuminating to that large body of English and American medievalists whose interests are mainly confined to the eleventh and succeeding centuries.

The period dealt with covers the four centuries following the collapse of the Western Roman Empire. The first three chapters (part I.) are introductory in character: barbarian invasions, the Church, pagan education and letters, the Christian attitude toward pagan learning, and the Christian literature during the fourth and fifth centuries. The next three chapters (part II.) cover the period from the sixth century to Bede and Boniface. The following nine chapters (part III.), comprising over half the book, are devoted to the Carolingian age. The subjects treated are: revival of education and learning, education and the liberal arts, libraries and scriptoria, study of Greek and literature. The divisions under the last heading are: study of classical literature, history and biography, hagiography and geography, controversial and dogmatic writings, exegesis, pastoral, and liturgical writings, political ideas, philosophy, poetry, vernacular literature.

The volume closes with an appendix of translations, a select bibliography, a general index, and an index of modern authors cited in the notes.

The author has shown great skill in the selection of material and is expert in the art of condensation. There is an amazing amount of material packed into a small compass; the chapters on Irish and English scholars and on the study of Greek are especially good examples. One of the excellent features throughout the book is the systematic treatment of theological questions and their influence on politics and literature. All in all, it is an extremely useful handbook. It is to be hoped, however, that in a second edition the publishers will provide a better map.

The statement on page 127 that no extant manuscript of Bede's writings contains a marginal indication of the sources is wrong. Sutcliffe (*Biblica*, VI. 205–210; VII. 428–439) found the sources given in two Vatican MSS. of the Commentary on Mark: AV (or Au) for Augustine, GR for Gregory, etc. The first letter marks the beginning, the second, the ending of the quotation; this explains why they were so often omitted by the copyists, who overlooked them or did not understand them. On page 136, Laistner agrees with Manitius in thinking that Jonas, the biographer of Columbanus, cited from the lost book of Livy; while Traube asserts that the citation is a corruption of a passage of the Verrines. The *Liber Monstrorum* (p. 140) according to Laistner was written by a Frank, according to Manitius by an Irishman living in Gaul, while Thomas (*Bulletin Du Cange*, 1924, pp. 232–245) suggests it was probably written in England. The MSS. are certainly derived from an insular original, as symptomatic errors show. The error in regard to the number of MSS. of Hrabanus's Priscian (p. 170) is easily explained; the handbooks regularly give the number of Priscian MSS. as 1000. To the list of authors known to Lupus (p. 207) the name of Macrobius should be added. Lupus writes (Ep. 8) to Adalgaudus (according to Laistner, abbot of Fleury) thanking him for his help in correcting this author. It was the writer's good fortune to discover the MS. last summer at Paris (Lat. 6370). The codex was written at Tours and so is the fourth MS. of this *scriptorium* that came into the possession of Lupus. Laistner seems to have escaped the pitfall of orthographical inconsistency; an exception is Jarrow in the text (pp. 117, 121, 127) but Yarrow in the index; Yarrow in the text (p. 150) is not listed in the index.

The University of Chicago. CHARLES H. BEESON.

Frederick the Second, 1194–1250. By Ernst Kantorowicz. Authorised English Version by E. O. Lorimer. [Makers of the Middle Ages.] (New York: Richard R. Smith. 1931. Pp. xxvii, 724. $5.00.)

At last the English reader has at his disposal, in place of the antiquated work of Kington (1862), a fresh and stimulating biography of the Emperor Frederick II. The author, Ernst Kantorowicz, is a young man of letters rather than a professional scholar of the school of Winkelmann and Hampe, but he has mastered the enormous special literature of his subject in a way that compels respect. The German original, which first appeared in 1927, has been sharply criticized for its subjectiveness and fondness for system, as well as for taking too seriously the Oriental and Roman elements in Frederick's imperial ideas, and the treatment will impress most readers as eulogistic, if not romantic and exaggerated; but the author has seen his way around his theme and produced a book where others have only planned and hoped to produce one. There is plenty of narrative, while the treatment of intellectual conditions is particularly full and good, with due reference to the Sicilian background and inheritance. The emperor's love of sport is suitably emphasized, but it is well said that "the 'game' for Frederick was not the shock of knightly weapons, but the clash of noble minds" (p. 365). So the new element in the Falcon Book is declared to be "the idea of seeing and telling 'the things that are, as they are'" (pp. 360, 364).

The translation reads well, better than most translations from the German, and seems reasonably faithful. The volume has been equipped with seven new maps and with a brief "summary of sources" supplied by the author, and there are occasional notes and slight changes by the translator. It is a pity the opportunity was not taken to correct some of the minor inaccuracies of the original, such as the assertion (p. 306) that Henry of Avranches was an Englishman, or the loose sentence concerning the Sicilian translators on page 339. It is also regrettable that the passages quoted at length from the sources in the German text have been translated into English from the German rather than directly from the Latin originals, in a way that reminds us of the Greco-Arabic translations of the Middle Ages. A good example is the series of questions addressed by Frederick to Michael Scot (p. 351), of which an earlier and more direct English version will be found in this *Review* (XXVII. 689–691).

A more serious defect is the omission of the *Ergänzungsband* of 307 pages which Kantorowicz published in 1931, and which supplies the scaffolding for the building already erected four years earlier. True, the translator does make a bare mention of the supplementary volume, and expresses the hope that "these *pièces justificatives* will no doubt be con-

sulted in the original tongues by serious students of the subject" (p. xxv); but this scarcely bridges the chasm. The *Ergänzungsband* contains, besides ten brief *Exkurse,* detailed references and bibliographical notes for the whole original volume, carefully brought down to 1930 with the aid of the central office of the *Monumenta Germaniae,* and its earlier publication would have forestalled a certain amount of the criticism to which the work has been subjected. Without these notes the English version rather hangs in the air, although their inclusion would have outrun the limits of a single volume. If this defect can be remedied, the planner of the "Makers of the Middle Ages", Miss Waddell, is to be congratulated on her courage in beginning the series with a volume translated from the German rather than with one written in English for this special purpose.

Harvard University. CHARLES H. HASKINS.

The Registrum Antiquissimum of the Cathedral Church of Lincoln. Edited by C. W. FOSTER, Canon of Lincoln and Prebendary of Leicester Saint Margaret. Volume I. [Publications of the Lincoln Record Society, volume 27.] (Hereford: Hereford Times. 1931. Pp. lxxi, 351.)

THIS important and beautiful volume should serve as an exemplar to editors of medieval texts. It is the "first fruits", we are told, of a critical study of Lincoln charters which has already extended over sixteen years. The editor's own unrivaled knowledge of his subject has been supplemented by the interest and coöperation of Professor and Mrs. Stenton, names to conjure with in the field of editing, the former making also a direct contribution of notes to four important documents, two of them from the reign of the Conqueror. Notes on papal texts have been added by Dr. W. Holtzmann, one, for example, establishing the authenticity of the pre-Conquest bull of Nicholas II. and another on a document illustrating the struggle between Stephen and the bishops. Thirty-four facsimiles add much to the pleasure given by the volume and its usefulness to scholars. Appendixes discuss episcopal residences in Lincoln and Thorngate. Collations of various lists of charters, together with an excellent index, make the book easy to use.

The introduction contains a critical study of the *Registrum* and its relation to other Lincoln registers and cartularies, and recovers from oblivion the work of redaction done by John de Schalby. It contains also an interesting discussion of the organization of a secular cathedral church with its division of possessions between bishop and canons, and of the duties of medieval canons. Some of the charters that follow have been printed before, but by no means always in the definitive form here given;

others are printed here for the first time—for example, thirteen charters of Stephen. Later volumes, we are told, will contain a larger proportion of hitherto unprinted documents. In addition to the texts contained in the *Registrum,* but appropriately distinguished from them, the editor has included certain additional charters found in the muniment room, either themselves originals or else texts taken from cartularies. The wealth of early material in Lincoln is almost unbelievable—about forty-two hundred original pre-Reformation documents, and over thirty-six hundred others in cartularies and the like. There are mighty documents in this volume. The very first is the writ of William I. announcing to the diocese of Lincoln the separation of church and lay courts; a second deals with the removal of the see from Dorchester to Lincoln; another is a registered copy of the 1225 reissue of the Great Charter; another an original copy of the Great Charter itself; and another a forest charter of 1217. Such giants must not, however, obscure the importance of "the great stream of smaller gifts that flowed from the free peasants of Lincolnshire", men whose "names proclaim their native descent" and in whom may be seen "the rank and file of the Danish army". The *Registrum* gives to scholars another great collection of early documents, which are presented with an unusual richness of historical criticism, and which are of especial value to students of the Danelaw.

Mt. Holyoke College. N. Neilson.

BOOKS OF MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

Bayle, the Sceptic. By Howard Robinson. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1931. Pp. x, 334. $4.25.)

Profound admiration of Bayle and long study of his writings have made Professor Howard Robinson a skillful interpreter of his thought to our generation. In 1916 he published an excellent doctor's thesis on *The Great Comet of 1680,* exhibiting Bayle as the leader of the rationalist revolt against superstition. In 1929 he contributed an interesting study of Bayle's Profanation of Sacred History to the *Essays in Intellectual History* dedicated to James Harvey Robinson. And now he has summed up the results of long years of devoted labor in a biography that is careful, learned, informing, and readable. Especially valuable are the extended analyses, with ample quotations, of Bayle's works, and the study of his influence and fame during the period of the Enlightenment.

Thorough as Professor Robinson generally is, he has overlooked a few of Bayle's printed pamphlets and one important manuscript source that might have been readily accessible to him. Neither his index nor his bibliography reveals any knowledge of *Petri Baelii ad Virum Doctissimum*

Theodorum J. ab Almeloveen Epistola de Scriptis Adespotis, published in Vincent Placcius's *Theatrum Anonymorum et Pseudonymorum* at Hamburg in 1708. In this, Bayle discusses the authorship of the *Vindiciae contra Tyrannos,* which he attributed to Hotman, and which is still vigorously debated.

In his bibliography (p. 310), the author lists the manuscript at the Bibliothèque Nationale of Bayle's *Harangue pour le Duc de Luxembourg,* but he apparently does not know that it has been twice published, once by G. Ascoli in 1916 (with date 1914), and again by E. Lacoste in his *Bayle Nouvelliste et Critique Littéraire* in 1929. The harangue is a satire on the charge that the duke had given himself to the devil; had the biographer known it he might have added some significant touches to his picture of Bayle as an enemy of superstition. He might also have profited by the excellent work of Lacoste.

On December 30, 1924, Professor John Lawrence Gerig announced to the Modern Language Association that Columbia University had acquired a manuscript containing 160 letters of Pierre Bayle, of which many are unpublished, and many only partially published. According to Gerig, earlier editors had suppressed much matter of a skeptical or Protestant nature, and had omitted important passages bearing on Locke and Newton. For seven years this rich source has lain unused at Columbia; now at last Professors Gerig and Roosbroeck have begun to publish it in the *Romanic Review* (vol. XXII., June-September, 1931). It is unfortunate that Professor Robinson was unable to use this or the other manuscript letters mentioned by Gerig and Roosbroeck in their first article as existing at the Bibliothèque Nationale. Professor Gerig writes me that he has discovered a number of other letters of Bayle which he will publish in his own or in foreign reviews; that Professor Hawkins of Harvard has discovered and will soon publish others; and that the Columbia MS. is now and has been accessible to any scholar wishing to use it.

In certain matters the biographer's critical faculty has been warped by admiration for his hero, or, rather, by unconscious absorption of his point of view. His account of the *Dictionnaire Historique et Critique,* while an excellent summary of its contents and a fair evaluation of its skepticism, errs in failing to point out the real and serious charges that should be made against it. The faults which Mr. Robinson points out, and for which he apologizes at needless length, are obscenity and bias against priestcraft, faults of such minor importance as to hurt the value of the dictionary very little. The real weakness of Bayle's erudition is its capriciousness. Not only is the selection of names for treatment very arbitrary, including many absurdly unimportant and omitting many great men and women, but the treatment of each individual is marred by over-

emphasis of some particular aspect of the subject and total neglect of others. Voltaire called Bayle "l'anecdotier de l'univers". Goethe pronounced the *Dictionnaire* "equally valuable and useful on account of its learning and acumen, and ridiculous and noxious because of its gossip and twaddle". Neither of these judgments is quoted by Professor Robinson; but each of them contains more sound criticism than anything that he says himself or quotes from others.

With much of what the author says in praise of Bayle's historical method I agree; from some of his judgments I strongly dissent. To balance in nice equipoise baseless slanders and authentic accounts (as Bayle does, for example, in his article on Luther's wife) does not indicate impartiality but an abdication of the critical faculty, or else malice. From Professor Robinson's investigation of Bayle's influence on the rationalists of the eighteenth century I have learned much, even though at times I can not follow all his inferences. It is certainly incorrect to attribute to Bayle's example Gibbon's irony (which he says he learned from Pascal), his conception of history (which he got from Voltaire and Montesquieu), and his historical method (which he learned from Tillemont).

If this review has dwelt at more length on the weaknesses of the author than on his merits, this is not because his faults outweigh his services, but because it is more profitable to supply omissions than to repeat words well said. For a sympathetic study of an important subject all students of the intellectual history of the Enlightenment will acknowledge a debt to Professor Robinson.

Cornell University. PRESERVED SMITH.

The Endless Adventure: Personalities and Practical Politics in Eighteenth-Century England. By F. S. OLIVER. Two volumes in one. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1931. Pp. xv, 428; 326. $7.50.)

"LET them say 'tis grossly done; so it be fairly done, no matter." This seems to be the opinion of Mr. Oliver as well as of Falstaff. Politics the writer regards as a game, an unsavory but necessary and rather delightful game, the rules and motives of which have scarcely varied throughout the centuries. In this book we are treated to a skillful if somewhat overrealistic picture of that game as played in England during the first half of the eighteenth century.

Mr. Oliver is a keen writer and his book sparkles with aphorism and epigram. It is full of brief character sketches which show historical discernment as well as literary ability. It is unfortunate that the writer has included within it three chapters quite derogatory to the skill of Lenin as a politician after the establishment of the Russian dictatorship. And since

Mr. Oliver assures us that the Russian scene is "obscured by ground fog", it is the more remarkable that he writes as dogmatically as he does of Lenin's lack of success. Aside, however, from this single exception, one finds little to criticize specifically.

The Endless Adventure, it must be remembered, is not history. Mr. Oliver not only states that he has not engaged in research but also frankly admits that he is not interested in correlating his rather sorry troop of characters to their *milieu.* The book is not biography, since everything is intentionally omitted which is not connected with party warfare. On the other hand, it is not politics from the broad point of view of political philosophy. It is simply and solely a study of those means and methods employed by politicians to gain and hold political power. It is written on the model of Machiavelli's *Prince,* scornfully dismissing idealists and humanitarians; but unlike the *Prince* it is too long. It is somewhat reminiscent of the tales of a bright but cynical old clubman whose political gossip tends to pale after many hours spent in the telling. Thus one reads too much *in extenso* about George I. and his absurd little successor, of Carteret and his petty plots, of the involved and intricate relationship of Walpole to the Pelham connection, of William Pulteney's defection, and of like matters.

Now the desirability of such an excursus into parliamentary gossip may, perhaps, not be open to question, but to divorce all such from its historical background is not easily to be defended. Walpole may well have been "the archetype of the normal politician", and he may also have been "a master of the game of spies and counter-spies", but he was also the Norfolk squire and the man of business. While anyone may assert with Mr. Oliver that "Walpole treated Tories as traitors purely for partisan purposes", it is not so easy to prove it. So also stands the case with Viscount Bolingbroke. The tempestuous and erratic career of that Tory philosopher may have been determined by purely selfish and materialistic motives, but to assume *a priori* that this was the case seems somewhat an overstatement. In his constant desire to avoid unctuous sentimentality and cloudy idealism, Mr. Oliver, it seems, is continuously in danger of falling backward. The vigor of his realism, too honest to be a pose, at times is too one-sided to be realistic.

Princeton University. WALTER PHELPS HALL.

The Letters of the Rev. John Wesley, A.M., Sometime Fellow of Lincoln College, Oxford. Edited by JOHN TELFORD, B.A. Eight volumes. (London: Epworth Press. 1931. $40.00.)

MANY of the letters of John Wesley, either in whole or in part, have been previously published. Some nine hundred appeared in *Wesley's*

Works, edited by Thomas Jackson (14 vols.) in 1829–1831; Dr. Priestley published in 1791, the year of Wesley's death, a number of original Wesley letters, among them eleven to his brother Samuel and one to his father. Others appeared from time to time in the *Arminian Magazine.* Two compilations of Wesley letters on particular subjects appeared, one in 1816, and a second in 1837, while Tyerman in his monumental *Life of John Wesley* (3 vols., 1878) drew heavily upon the letters and published numbers of them. In 1915 the largest collection, up to that time, appeared in a single volume edited by George Eayrs, entitled *Letters of John Wesley: a Selection of Important and New Letters with Introduction and Biographical Notes.* None of the above collections, however, approaches either in completeness or editorial skill the present collection, which contains 2670 letters covering a period of just seventy years, 1721 to 1791.

The first letter is to the treasurer of Charterhouse School, and was written on November 3, 1721, when Wesley was eighteen years of age, after he had entered Christ Church, Oxford. It explains a mistake in a financial transaction, which Wesley is anxious shall not reflect upon his good name. This letter is preserved at the Charterhouse, where Wesley is considered the greatest of Carthusians and he is thus commemorated in the school song:

> Wesley, John Wesley was one of our company,
> Prophet untiring and fearless of tongue,
> Down the long years he went
> Spending yet never spent,
> Serving his God with a heart ever young.

The last letter, dated February 24, 1791, written the day after he had preached his last sermon, was addressed to William Wilberforce, then engaged in his great fight in Parliament to outlaw the slave trade, and contains this interesting reference to American slavery:

> O be not weary in well doing: Go on in the name of God and in the power of his might, till even American slavery (the vilest that ever saw the sun) shall vanish away before it.

Many of Wesley's letters are very brief and were written in great haste, since throughout his long life he was so constantly on the move, but they are always well composed, always clear as sunlight, and exactly to the point. A good example is his letter to George Shadford, one of his missionaries to America, received by Shadford just as he was setting sail in March, 1773:

> Dear George,—The time is arrived for you to embark for America. You must go down to Bristol, where you will meet with Thomas Rankin, Captain Webb, and his wife.
>
> I let you loose, George, on the great continent of America. Publish

your message in the open face of the sun, and do all the good you can.—
I am, dear George,
Yours affectionately.

The very next letter, to a Mrs. Bennis, is equally typical:

I fear you are too idle: this will certainly bring condemnation. Up, and be doing! Do not loiter. See that your talent rust not: rather let it gain ten more; and it will if you use it.

Wesley considered himself a poor letter writer and on one occasion said to a correspondent, "I often doubt whether my correspondence is worth having", but in spite of any doubts he may have had regarding its value, he kept at it throughout his long life. Though his mind moved with extraordinary quickness, his penmanship was deliberate and careful, strikingly similar to that of George Washington.

The whole of Wesley appears in his letters; his proneness to jump at conclusions from scanty evidence; his attributing to the Spirit of God natural emotions and impressions; his keenness of judgment on practical matters; his penetrating observations on persons and events; his acuteness in sizing up a situation, and his ability to get at the heart of a matter by the most direct route. He wrote letters to keep in touch with his many helpers, to encourage those who were despondent, as well as to gain sympathy and help both for his work and himself. His unhappy marriage caused him to turn more and more to his friends, and he was always careful to keep his friendships in repair. There are a surprising number of letters to women and as he grew older his letters, to young women especially, grow increasingly fatherly and sympathetic.

Wesley's longest letters are controversial, and these he generally prepared with great care. We have Wesley's own word that he disliked controversy: "I abhor disputing", he says, "and never enter into it but when I am, as it were, dragged into it by the hair of the head." But regardless of his distaste for it he was often involved in it. A good example of letters of this type is the one written on June 11, 1747, to Dr. Gibson, bishop of London (II. 277–291), who in the beginning, regarded the Methodist movement with a considerable degree of sympathy, but later became bitterly opposed. This letter covers fourteen pages and is a model for clarity, orderly presentation, and good temper.

Among the most important and interesting letters, especially for the general historian, are those written to public men. On June 15, 1775, Wesley wrote a long letter to Lord North, the prime minister (VI. 160–164), giving his views on the American situation. The identical letter, with a somewhat more personal ending, had been sent to Lord Dartmouth the previous day (II. 155–160). In 1784 he addressed a letter to William Pitt the Younger on the question of taxation, indicative of his intelligent

concern for the public welfare in a critical time. With the efforts of Thomas Clarkson, Granville Sharp, and William Wilberforce to abolish the slave trade he was in full and hearty sympathy, as is shown by his several letters to them.

To the standard edition of *The Journal of John Wesley* (8 vols., 1909–1916) the *Letters* will prove both an introduction and a supplement, and together they furnish not only an intimate portrait of one of the most interesting and important figures of eighteenth century England, but also an intimate picture of eighteenth century English society.

These generous volumes are beautifully printed on high grade paper, while the careful editing, the well chosen illustrations, and the ample index leave little to be desired.

The University of Chicago. WILLIAM W. SWEET.

Sir Francis Burdett and his Times, 1770–1844. By M. W. PATTERSON, Vice-President and Senior Tutor of Trinity College, Oxford. Two volumes. (London: Macmillan and Company; New York: Macmillan Company. 1931. Pp. xiv, 356; vii, 357–688. $10.00.)

HAVING access to unpublished letters and papers of the Burdett and of the Coutts families, the vice president of Trinity, Oxford, has taken this opportunity to offer them as a documentary contribution to the period of English history included within Sir Francis Burdett's lifetime. The letters and papers furnish about one-half of the contents of the two volumes; the other half comprises the editor's own version of the "history of the times". These narrative and explanatory passages, it must be admitted regretfully, do seem rather like echoes of half remembered tutorial disquisitions; though one could forgive their pedagogic quality had they not been phrased in wholly uninspired language. That aside, however, the letters and papers themselves, as a collection, are interesting and valuable. To mention but a few: an actual legal contract, duly drawn up and signed, disposing of the parliamentary representation of a pocket borough for a term of six years, at a sum of £40,000 and incidental expenses, is a document rare of its kind (pp. 38–39). A note or two exchanged, in the interval 1818–1830, between Jeremy Bentham and Burdett will be appreciated by any whose interests incline toward the leader of the philosophical radical school (pp. 462–472). A few of Burdett's public letters, after 1832, to his constituents and supporters in Westminster, declining to be bound or restricted as their representative by any pledges—and giving elaborate constitutional reasons for refusing to admit that the reform of Parliament entitled a constituency to instruct or pledge its representatives—furnish new and quite striking material for an elucidation of the doctrine of responsibility attaching to

membership in the reformed House of Commons. According to Sir Francis's view, the Act of 1832 did not contemplate dethroning a privileged class; it sought merely to end corruption as the recognized means of aristocratic rule. England after 1832 was not expected to transform itself into a democracy; on the contrary, it was to maintain its established government under a politically purified aristocracy.

Through miscellaneous documents of this nature runs the central theme of Sir Francis Burdett as a personage of his time, a fine old Tory gentleman of Jacobite traditions shouldering the task of a high-minded and persecuted radical in the stirring days of revolution and reform. The cumulative effect of the letters is to portray Sir Francis more justly than has been done hitherto; and, under the editor's careful arrangement and criticism, to impose a sane sense of proportion in estimating his oddities, his vicissitudes, and his importance as a public character. To this let us add that the vice president of Trinity has given us a more acceptable exposition of the bearing of political corruption upon the cause of parliamentary reform than any biographical study of this period has yet supplied. No one can complete the reading of these two volumes without acquiring a sharper and clearer view of the evil of borough-mongering as practiced in the days of the unreformed House of Commons—particularly in its influence upon votes and divisions in the House, and upon the political conduct of contemporary statesmen.

McGill University. C. E. Fryer.

Carlo Alberto Principe di Carignano. Per Niccolò Rodolico. (Florence: Felice Lemonnier. 1931. Pp. xviii, 479. 45 l.)

Carlo Alberto Inédito: il Diario Autografo del Re, Lettere Intime ed Altri Scritti Inediti. Per Francesco Salata. (Milan: A. Mondadori. 1931. Pp. xi, 500. 40 l.)

Lettere di Carlo Alberto a Ottavio Thaon di Revel. A Cura di Giovanni Gentile. (Milan: Fratelli Treves. 1931. Pp. xv, 164. 25 l.)

The past few months have witnessed a lively reawakening in historical study of the life of Charles Albert, the "Hamlet" of the Italian Risorgimento. The year 1931 is the centenary of his assumption of the crown of Piedmont, and Italian historians have a special regard for centenaries—as conducive to the sale of serious books. The three volumes above noted are all of the first quality in scholarship, and of the first importance as a contribution of new documentary evidence. Through them Charles Albert has become less of a Hamlet and has gained materially in his

reputation as a sincere patriot and a consistent precursor of Italian unity imbued with a deep-seated hatred of Austria.

Rodolico's *Carlo Alberto,* which is the product of fifteen years of study and research, covers the life of the prince only to the day when he became king. The volume is complete in itself but, though the author does not state it, he is known to have the continuation of the biography in preparation. Rodolico places the prince in as favorable a light as possible throughout the succession of difficult situations which constitute the story of his life, but the effort to be always impartial is evident. He gives a convincing account of Charles Albert's mental and political development, and destroys current legends of his early French-acquired liberalism, his weakness, chronic indecision, and contradictions of character. With these legends eliminated, there is no longer need of carrying on the fruitless search for a "secret" with which to explain the "enigma" of his life. If a secret there was, it could only be the ambition frankly stated in different passages of his later diaries published by Senator Salata, the ambition to enlarge the boundaries of Piedmont, and perhaps to become the king of a united Italy.

Mentally inert and thoughtless of the future in early youth, Charles Albert before he was twenty began to study seriously and, in the spirit of sacrifice, to look upon life as a mission. He and the great patriot-conspirator and bitter enemy of the monarchy, Mazzini, had in common the ascetic, religious conception of life, as they had in common the passion for a free and united Italy.

The prince's part in the Piedmontese revolution of 1821 is the most unfortunate and most disputed chapter of his life. Rodolico does his best to rebut the gravest charges brought against Charles Albert for this disaster. He successfully establishes his sincerity and his patriotic motives, but frankly admits that he was in no small degree responsible for the revolution. He should at once have arrested the officers who first broached to him the plans for mutiny in the army. He should never have received the conspirators at his palace. He should have resigned the regency at the moment that he was ordered to do so by the new king, Charles Felix. He was but twenty-three years of age in this turbulent year, but that was not an excuse. He hoped to prevent the revolution and civil strife, but the purpose did not justify the course followed. We may question some details of Rodolico's interpretation of Charles Albert's conduct and particularly the excessively severe condemnation of Santarosa and Ignazio Thaon di Revel, but the volume is a high achievement in close criticism and vivid portraiture. And it contains considerable new evidence drawn from wide research in many public and private archives, particularly in the archives of the foreign office in London, in several state archives in Italy, and in the Vatican archives. Rodolico is independent in his criticism

and does not hesitate to take issue even with Alessandro Luzio, one of the dictators of Risorgimento history.

The volume *Carlo Alberto Inedito* is of quite a different character. It consists mainly of autograph diaries of Charles Albert covering several detached months of different years between 1831 and 1841; to these are added a few autobiographical fragments, and miscellaneous correspondence of the royal family relative to the political agitations of 1821. Salata gives excellent introductions and notes.

In the king's diaries two dominating purposes stand forth clearly as having been the lodestars that determined his course throughout life. One was the enlargement of the boundaries of Piedmont, the other, reformation of government administration to make the country more prosperous and stronger, in preparation for the high destiny which he believed reserved for Piedmont and the monarchy in a free and united Italy. On January 21, 1832, he records with satisfaction the receipt of "a very curious letter" from a young Italian patriot and exile, urging that Charles Albert place himself at the head of the Italian revolutionists, who in return would make him king of all Italy. "Whatever God has in store for me", adds the diarist, "I am quite ready. I have never retreated. Whatever may be my future, and when the time comes, I shall know how to die fighting." On March 14, 1832, he instructed the Piedmontese minister in Paris to sound the Russian and Prussian ministers on the advantage that would result "for the tranquillity of Italy, from an aggrandizement of the state of Piedmont; furthermore this would also be necessary, if we are to be able to maintain the equilibrium between Austria and France, and thus prevent many wars". These quotations are typical revelations of the king's dominating ambition.

The volume of twenty-two letters of Charles Albert in French, mostly unpublished, addressed, April 3–September 9, 1848, to his minister of finance, Count Ottavio Thaon di Revel, gives a vivid picture of the tragic campaign of 1848 against Austria, which began with extraordinary promise of fulfilling the sovereign's long cherished hopes, but then, owing to the jealousies and conflicting aspirations of the Italians themselves, ended in disaster. The letters are of special value as showing forth the king's psychology and his qualities as commander in chief. Most striking are the details given regarding the ministry's project in August for inviting the French marshal, Bugeaud, to take over command of the army. Humiliating as this would have been for Charles Albert, he wrote: "So great is my devotion to my country that I would resign command of the army to him, leaving it with the conviction of having done all that I could to lead it well, sacrificing my pride, regretting only that I had not had the ability to do better."

Charles Albert failed to realize his ambition. But his efforts made possible Piedmont's extraordinary development in the decade following his death, under Cavour's guidance, and the eventual achievement of Italian unity under the House of Savoy.

This volume is only a portion of the king's correspondence with Di Revel. Many letters were excluded because of their severe strictures on contemporaries whose descendants are living.

Rome. H. Nelson Gay.

Talleyrand, 1754–1838. Par G. Lacour-Gayet, Membre de l'Institut. Tome III., 1815–1838. [Bibliothèque Historique.] (Paris: Payot. 1931. Pp. 519. 40 fr.)

The concluding volume of M. Lacour-Gayet's biography deals with the period of Talleyrand's career following the Congress of Vienna, surveying his less active but nevertheless effective relation to the changing background of the times from 1815 to 1838. The far from cordial situation existing between Louis XVIII. and the "artisan" of his restoration is analyzed in a critical account of Talleyrand's brief return to power as president of the council and minister of foreign affairs, July-September, 1815. Following his resignation—or better, his dismissal—he entered upon a period of more than fourteen years of retirement from active public life. He retained at court only the perfunctory office of high chamberlain. The 100,000 francs emolument which attended the appointment served somewhat to soften the bitterness of his disappointed political ambitions.

During the years of private life which followed, whether spent on his estates, at fashionable watering places, or in his palatial *hôtel,* rue Saint-Florentin, Paris, he was never far dissociated from the pulse of public events. His rôle in the Revolution of July, 1830, amply testifies to the efficacy of his salon diplomacy. This venerable aristocrat, this "dernier seigneur de France", may have regretted that the new régime which he had been instrumental in inducting had been established through events which had occurred "un peu bourgeoisement". He nevertheless accepted from Louis Philippe the opportunity to reënter public life as ambassador to the Court of Saint James, 1830–1834. His part in effecting a *rapprochement* between England and France through the Quadruple Alliance of 1834, and his rôle in the establishment of Belgian independence are presented in the light of a thorough documentation. The last years of Talleyrand's life, after his return to France in 1834, and the much discussed problem of his reconciliation with the Church, receive particularly careful analysis.

The ensemble of the three volumes of this biography presents a portrait

of Talleyrand so vivid and convincing, that more nearly than ever before the traditional "masque d'impassibilité" with which he deliberately shrouded his personality and career seems to have fallen away. Not that the author has attempted the unscientific, nor that he has filled in with lines unwarranted by the documentary evidence on which he has based his work. On the contrary, he does not hesitate to acknowledge that as he followed one aspect or another of Talleyrand's career, he has often found himself in an impasse because the evidence in the case had been destroyed or deliberately falsified. Nevertheless, M. Lacour-Gayet's able methodology, intelligent interpretation of available material, and brilliant literary style combine to make of this biography an extraordinary historical achievement.

Washington, D. C. PHOEBE A. HEATH.

Louis-Philippe, 1830–1848. Par PIERRE DE LA GORCE, de l'Académie Française. (Paris: Plon. 1931. Pp. 421. 20 fr.)

THIS volume completes the excellent studies of nineteenth century France up to 1870 by M. Pierre de La Gorce. It is to be hoped that he will soon undertake to write a history of the Third Republic. Such a work, written by a man who is a partisan but who is capable of fair judgments and generally sound conclusions, would be a valuable addition to the large number of histories of contemporary France that have been marred by the political bias of their authors. In spite of his clerical sympathies, M. de La Gorce is a better historian of his country than many of his contemporaries who have treated of the same periods.

The volume that has just appeared is shorter than his previous studies of the Second Republic and of the Empire, but it possesses a greater literary merit. The style is lucid and even, and the structure of the book is admirably suited to the subject. M. de La Gorce does not follow a strictly chronological order: "I desire to make this reign comprehensible; I do not intend to write a mere chronicle of events." Consequently, the form that he has adopted is topical.

The first part of the book treats of the début of the July Monarchy. At the outset, the reign of the "Bourgeois king" is trenchantly described: "Two characteristics marked this reign from the beginning, and they continued with it to its end—reverence for the revolution and, at the same time, a spirit of conservatism that was often carried to the point of narrowness." This second trait of the Orléans régime was stamped upon it by the newly elected bourgeois deputies who sought to establish a monarchy "cut to their pattern and made protector of their class and their fortunes". This, the author believes, was the principal mandate, tacit but understood, that was confided to Louis Philippe by those who raised him to the throne.

This is the theme that is maintained consistently and convincingly throughout the book.

M. de La Gorce presents convincing evidence to show that, until 1842, the king was an astute and active power in the new régime. He assigns to the monarch a great deal of the credit for avoiding the wars and European complications that threatened to embarrass the beginnings of the reign, and a great part of the success of the Belgian revolution, he declares, was due to the tact of the "Bourgeois king". It was the king also, as much as his statesmen, who laid the foundations for the future material development and expansion of France. In short, during the first half of his reign, Louis Philippe was not the fussy grandmother or "crowned pear" that Daumier and his fellow cartoonists made him out to be. It was only after old age had begun to creep upon him that the king of the July Monarchy played the rôle of *fainéant* that popular tradition has erroneously assigned to his entire reign.

The second half of the book contains two excellent chapters both of which are timely. One treats of the conquest of Algiers, the centenary of which France celebrated with such *éclat* last year. Another chapter relates in detail the story of the Catholic revival. As one nears the end of the book, however, one is conscious of a strange blank space in the picture that is presented of the declining years. Supine foreign policy, political parties, parliamentary corruption, and the personal animosites and ambitions of the leading statesmen are admirably described. But only a very brief section of the last chapter takes into consideration the transformation of French thought, and the humanitarian and socialist movements. Their growth is noted and their effect indicated but the description that is given of the ideas underlying these movements in the intellectual and social spheres is inadequate. In the opinion of the reviewer, this is the only serious criticism that can be made of a book that otherwise offers the most reliable and comprehensive account of the bourgeois monarchy that has yet appeared.

Yale University. JOHN M. S. ALLISON.

Bismarck und die Grundlegung der Deutschen Grossmacht. Von EGMONT ZECHLIN. (Stuttgart: J. G. Cotta'sche Buchhandlung Nachfolger. 1930. Pp. xiii, 630. 17.50 M.)

THIS minute survey of the background and developments of the first fifteen months of Bismarck's administration as Prussian minister-president, besides offering a thorough reëxamination of published materials, abounds in new contributions from the various archives relating to internal and foreign affairs at Berlin and Vienna. The first chapter gives a sketch of

the international situation and problems of Europe after 1850, drawn in broad strokes and with a sound grasp of realities, as the setting for Bismarck's advent to leadership. There follows an analysis of Bismarck's policy, marked by keen insight into his philosophy and an appreciation of the factors of personality that entered into its formation. Emphasizing Bismarck's devotion to the interests of the Prussian state, the author points out, as in his earlier book on the *Staatsstreichplan* of 1890, that parties, political doctrines, and institutions were regarded by him indifferently except as, in his judgment, they served or injured the main cause. "His view was that the national and liberal idea was a means of attaining Prussian predominance in Germany, not that the Prussian state was a means of fulfilling the national and liberal idea" (p. 153). He is shown similarly indifferent in his choice of means so far as international combinations were concerned and similarly averse to restricting his freedom of action by any narrowly fixed system of relationships. Prussia should satisfy her interests through coöperation with other states having interests to serve. "Europe should not be allowed again to fall into two groups of alliances, but should be kept in a general situation permitting Prussia to enter into understandings with all the great powers" (p. 398). It may be said that the same methods characterized his policy throughout his career. Without denying a measure of fumbling in the early stages, Zechlin asserts that Bismarck displayed from the outset a sufficient mastery of his craft, even in availing himself of unexpected ways of escape from critical situations, to justify his system.

In the story of Bismarck's nomination, as the outcome of a prolonged constitutional crisis, the essential point insisted upon is that the administrative course of which he became the executor was not one which he and Roon influenced the king to adopt, but an expression of William's settled convictions.

The final chapters are devoted to the intricate diplomacy of the Polish Revolution of 1863 and constitute by far the fullest treatment yet available of this phase of international relations. The troublesome Alvensleben Convention is represented as the result of the personal interview between the general and the czar (pp. 435–438). Here Zechlin takes issue with the article by Robert H. Lord, based on Russian sources, in this *Review* (XXIX. 24–48), as he does in affirming that Bismarck's expressions regarding a Prussian occupation of Poland show that he entertained the idea only as a *pis aller*. He agrees almost fully with Lord in recognizing that Bismarck, in later years, grossly misrepresented the czar's letter to the king, July 12, 1863, as an incitement to war against Austria. The czar's preceding letter, of June 1, clearly advocating the reconstitution of the

Holy Alliance group, which idea is only further developed in the second, is reproduced in facsimile. Bismarck's *Konzept* of William's second letter, of August 12, the final text of which could not be found by Lord in the Russian archives, is summarized at length. It expresses Prussia's intention to go forward with the policy of understanding with Austria advocated by the czar. The true content of this correspondence, defining the conditions of the next stage of Bismarck's diplomacy, reflects more credit on his conduct of foreign affairs than his own distorted version.

Washington, D. C. J. V. FULLER.

The Letters of Queen Victoria. Third Series. *A Selection from Her Majesty's Correspondence and Journal between the Years 1886 and 1901.* Published by Authority of His Majesty the King. Edited by GEORGE EARLE BUCKLE. In three volumes. Volume II., 1891–1895. (New York: Longmans, Green and Company. 1931. Pp. xi, 610. $9.00.)

"LORD ROSEBERY . . . certainly is a most unfortunate Minister!" This plaint of premier to sovereign, made in November, 1894, was elicited by developments in British domestic politics which have never been portrayed more vividly than in this book. During the thirty years which had elapsed since the consolidation of the Liberal party, and especially in the decade marked by Gladstone's struggle for Home Rule, the bulk of the party's original supporters among the nobility and landed gentry had seceded to the Conservatives. By depriving their old party of so much of its aristocratic and "moderate" element, the secessionists had, in Gladstone's opinion, produced a menacing association of class antagonism with party antagonism; by making the House of Lords more than ninety per cent. Conservative they had created what Rosebery regarded as "a permanent . . . danger to the Constitution". Both premiers contended that the Liberals should, as a matter of prudence, appease the masses without delay—especially by curtailing the powers of the Upper House. Victoria, inveterately Conservative, and showing the effects of age only in some minor physical disabilities, used all her accustomed devices to block Home Rule, Welsh and Scotch disestablishment, death duties, and attacks upon the powers (though not the constitution) of the Lords. Rosebery, as Gladstone's foreign secretary, had won favor by giving her sympathy and a little surreptitious assistance in matters of foreign and imperial policy; as prime minister he found himself between the upper and nether millstones of her insistence that he should "act as a check and drag upon his Cabinet" and the obvious inclination of a large section of his party either to bolt with, or to dispense with, him. Yet the difficulties of this pliant minister, for

all their historical interest, make small appeal to one's sympathies when viewed beside the losing struggles to carry Home Rule and to check the expansion of the fleet which closed Gladstone's political career.

Unfortunately the volume does not offer comprehensive material for a study of Rosebery's other great problem—that of persuading two Liberal cabinets to follow Conservative policies with respect to foreign affairs and the empire. It supplies, indeed, a good deal on relations with the dependencies, and a fair amount on such diplomatic encounters with other European powers as arose in connection with the division of Asia and Africa; it mirrors the dread of France and Russia, and the related duel between Rosebery and Gladstone concerning the augmentation of the fleet. But there is a striking scarcity of letters and memoranda touching directly upon the relations of England with the Triple Alliance powers, or upon the views of the foreign office regarding existent or prospective alignments. It seems unfortunate that these much wanted documents should yield place to so many letters of condolence, felicitation, and acknowledgment. But one can not assume that this is Mr. Buckle's fault, or in any case quarrel much with him. As always, he leaves one highly instructed, very much diverted, grateful, admiring, and expectant.

Wesleyan University. HERBERT C. BELL.

A History of Europe from 1815 to 1923. By Sir J. A. R. MARRIOTT, Honorary Fellow, formerly Fellow, Lecturer and Tutor in Modern History, of Worcester College, Oxford. [History of Medieval and Modern Europe, volume VIII.] (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1931. Pp. xix, 587. $6.50.)

Contemporary Europe and Overseas, 1898–1920. By R. B. MOWAT, M.A., Professor of History in the University of Bristol. [Periods of European History, Arthur Hassall, General Editor, Period IX., 1898-1920.] (New York: Macmillan Company. 1931. Pp. xxiv, 392. $2.90.)

SIR J. A. R. MARRIOTT holds that the years from 1815 to 1923 "possess the unity essential to a great drama, with Prologue, successive acts, and Epilogue". Prologue and Epilogue are the congresses of Vienna and Paris. The successive acts are: Reaction, Liberalism, Nationalism, Weltpolitik, Armed Peace, and World War. The reviewer perceives that the hero's part in this drama has been allotted to England, to whose honest, wise, and courageous statesmanship the policies of other powers stand in lamentable contrast.

No attempt is made to introduce other material than that which pertains to political and diplomatic history, but within this sphere the treatment is

commendably compact and interesting. Diplomatic situations and political issues are explained in detail, treaty terms are given with precision, space is found for analyses of constitutions and criticisms of military campaigns. Those who can enjoy Fyffe's *History of Modern Europe, 1792–1878,* and tolerate Gooch's continuation (1878–1919), will be delighted with Marriott, for he is as readable as Fyffe, as closely in touch with recent literature as Gooch, and more successful than either in dealing with the problem of synthesis. Fyffe has no unifying thought unless it be the spread of liberal institutions, nor Gooch, unless it be the origins of the World War, but Marriott, faithful to his conception of dramatic structure, carries plot and sub-plot consistently through his whole story. With a fine art that does not strain historical parallels the Holy Alliance and the League of Nations are so presented that they reflect light upon each other, comparisons are suggested between the coalition treaties against Napoleon and the secret treaties of the Allies against Germany, and the Austrian and Polish problems throughout the century are so developed that the events of 1918 are anticipated.

With good old-fashioned downrightness Marriott fixes war responsibility upon the Central Powers. In the process he gets some of his facts wrong. He writes that ". . . Grey (July 24) suggested mediation by the four disinterested Powers. . . . That suggestion was rejected by Germany (July 27)." Actually it was on July 27 that Germany *accepted* the proposal of July 24 for ***médiation à quatre***.[1]

Professor Mowat's survey, less exclusively devoted to politics and diplomacy, less well knit in its organization, comes to a similar conclusion relative to the origin of the war.

Mowat's most distinctive contribution is his point of view. He holds that there was anarchy in Europe, but there was also a Concert of Europe, and the development of anarchy along with international law furnishes a thread to be followed in the study of diplomatic history. This interpretation is put to the service of that theory of German War Guilt which redounds most to Britain's credit. Just as Bernadotte Schmitt, believing that the essence of the European system was the antagonism of Entente to Alliance, fixes upon the German decision to support Austria as crucial because it set Entente against Alliance, so Mowat, believing that the essence of the European system was the Concert, fixes upon Germany's refusal to hold a conference as the crucial decision, because it forestalled action by the Concert.

Western Reserve University. ROBERT C. BINKLEY.

[1] *British Documents on the Origin of the War,* vol. XI., no. 176.

The Founder of Modern Egypt: a Study of Muhammad 'Ali. By HENRY DODWELL, Professor of History and Culture of the British Dominions in Asia, in the University of London. (Cambridge: University Press; New York: Macmillan Company. 1931. Pp. viii, 276. $5.00.)

THE Albanian tobacco merchant who made himself master of an inconceivably chaotic Egypt, all but established an independent rule, set the great powers of Europe by the ears, and founded the dynasty which still reigns in Egypt, paid the usual penalty for partial failure in long neglect. In this, the first biographical study of importance to appear in English since the publication of St. John's *Egypt and Mohammed Ali* (2 vols., London, 1834; 2nd ed., 1846), the author aims at an interpretative study rather than a full history of the pasha's remarkable career.

The keynote of the book is well expressed in the words ascribed to the pasha himself: "Je n'ai fait en Égypte que ce que les Anglais ont fait aux Indes." Pursuing this idea, Professor Dodwell has drawn many parallels between conditions and institutions in Egypt and those in India. and the more appropriately because of his intimate knowledge of the latter country. In a brief survey of this nature, a critical reader will invariably be distressed by omissions. For example, it would seem that Thurburn, Ahmed Pasha, Bardissi Bey, and Lady Hester Stanhope, if worthy of mention, should be given some identification, even for British readers. Artin Bey, the left hand of the pasha as Boghos Bey was his right, is not mentioned at all. Also one important factor in the pasha's determination to make his final unfortunate drive for independence in 1838 and 1839—his extensive reliance on the confidential reports sent from various European capitals by the trusted John Bowring—has not been taken into consideration.

For his present purpose Professor Dodwell has found it necessary to consult relatively few of the many sources available on his subject. These, however, such as the records of the British foreign office, documentary publications of the Société Royale de Géographie d'Égypte, and the papers collected in the Abdin Palace at Cairo, are among the most essential ones. Unfortunately, in the absence of a general bibliography, the footnote citations of authority are often too sketchy to be very illuminating or helpful, and there are numerous passages of interest for which there are no indications of source.

Professor Dodwell's estimates of Mehemet Ali's aims and motives, the reviewer believes, are generally very fair and sound. The accounts of the pasha's efforts to ameliorate the condition of his wretched subjects probably would savor less of eulogy had it been shown that this concern was undoubtedly due more to regard for the sources of his own power

and for approbation in the eyes of Europe than to any purely altruistic motives. Lord Palmerston, too, is treated with a generosity which his Eastern policy could hardly have earned, but Professor Dodwell does not always write with complete detachment where British interests are concerned. He has, however, produced an interesting book, written with a fine touch and a sure instinct for essentials. The style is terse and balanced and the theme is lightened by many touches of dry humor and enriched by observations which display a deep understanding of human nature.

Tufts College. HALFORD L. HOSKINS.

BOOKS OF AMERICAN HISTORY

Dictionary of American Biography. Edited by ALLEN JOHNSON and DUMAS MALONE. Volume VI., Echols-Fraser; volume VII., Fraunces-Grimké. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1931. Pp. ix, 604; ix, 636. $250 for the complete set.)

AN examination of the successive volumes of the *Dictionary of American Biography* goes far to confirm the assertion, made by one of its collaborators, that the conception of history "as primarily a record of the culture of a people" is "now becoming orthodox in America" (VI. 54). That the *DAB* itself has been a powerful factor in establishing this point of view can not be doubted. Of the two installments now under review, volume VI. embraces 662 sketches of men and women representing all walks of life and every variety of aspiration and endeavor, and volume VII. adds 677 to the number, bringing the grand total of memoirs to 4786. The forty-nine Greens and Greenes stand foremost in frequency of biographical treatment, followed by the Evanses, 24 entries; the Fosters, 23; the Eliots, Elliots, and Elliotts, 21; the Fields, 19; and the Edwardses, 18. The number of contributors of articles is larger than in the two volumes immediately preceding, being 262 in the case of volume VI. and 287 in the case of volume VII.

The present volumes offer their share of great and interesting names. Like the earlier ones, they also clarify the rôle in American civilization of many figures which have not been taken into account by historians. Among the sketches of outstanding merit may be mentioned Allen Johnson's "Mary Morse Baker Eddy", W. A. Robinson's "George Franklin Edmunds", F. A. Christie's "Jonathan Edwards", R. L. Rusk's "Edward Eggleston", D. DeS. Pool's "Arnold Bogumil Ehrlich", R. J. Purcell's "John England", F. C. Hicks's "William Maxwell Evarts", C. O. Paullin's "David Glasgow Farragut", E. S. Corwin's "Stephen Johnson Field", J. V. Fuller's "Hamilton Fish", Carl Becker's "Benjamin Franklin", R. G.

Adams's "Horatio Gates", S. E. Morison's "Elbridge Gerry", E. B. Wilson's "Josiah Willard Gibbs", S. C. Mitchell's "Daniel Coit Gilman", J. R. Commons's "Samuel Gompers", J. E. Haley's "Charles Goodnight", C. W. Mitman's "Charles Goodyear", J. M. Phalen's "William Crawford Gorgas", Allan Nevins's "Horace Greeley", F. M. Green's "Duff Green", and Adeline Adams's "Horatio Greenough". Fiske Kimball's appraisal of Bertram Grosvenor Goodhue stands in happy contrast to the uncritical accounts of certain other artists treated in the *Dictionary*. The two volumes contain many suggestions as to figures which deserve, but have not yet received, full-length portrayal by biographers. Such a list would include G. F. Edmunds, W. L. Elkins, H. M. Flagler, B. O. Flower, J. B. Foraker, Christopher Gadsden, Matilda J. Gage, J. W. Garrett, Joshua R. Giddings, R. W. Gilder, Josiah Gorgas, and Duff Green.

Certain problems of inclusion and exclusion perplex the reviewer as they doubtless perplexed the editorial staff. Why, for example, did Sir Christopher Gardiner's sojourn of two years in Massachusetts Bay Colony (1630–1632) entitle him to a column and a half of space? Why make room in this gallery of notables for Thomas S. Gholson, whose career, as his biographer admits, "was not dramatic or conspicuous", except locally, and whose death "evoked but brief comment from the press" (VII. 234)? On the other hand, many persons failed to gain admittance whose credentials might well have warranted the distinction. To this category belong Henry J. Ellicott (1848–1901), sculptor; James W. Elwell (1820–1899), philanthropist; Harry Eytinge (1822–1902), actor; Elizabeth Jefferson Fisher (1810–1890), actress; Charles H. Foster (1833–1895), author of *Bertha, the Sewing-Machine Girl* and over seventy-five other melodramas; John Wells Foster (1815–1873), paleontologist; L. F. Frazee (1813–1896), inventor; Mansfield French (1810–1876), educator and antislavery reformer; Ellen Frothingham (1835–1902), translator; Joseph R. Fry (d. 1865), grand opera librettist; Emma Fursch-Madi (1847–1894), grand opera singer; John N. Gamewell (1822–1896), inventor of fire alarm apparatus; Charles R. Gardiner (d. 1902), theatrical manager; Augustus K. Gardner (1821–1876), specialist in obstetrics; Charles F. M. Garnett (d. 1886), civil engineer; Percival Gaunt (1852–1896), composer of popular songs; John S. Gilbert (1801–1891), marine architect; Elliott P. Gleason (1821–1901), inventor and manufacturer; Abner C. Goodell (1805–1898), inventor; Ada Gray (1834–1902), actress; Eliza Greatorex (1819–1897), artist; and George F. Green (1832–1892), inventor. The surprising thing, however, is not that deserving names have been omitted but that so many, neglected in other collections, have been included.

Contributors of memoirs occasionally show a bad sense of proportion in treating the later and often most important stages of a man's career,

as if their quota of words had unexpectedly run out. This fault, which seems more marked than in earlier volumes, is especially noticeable in the case of some of the longer sketches. Thus the biographer of W. Q. Gresham devotes nearly as many words to Gresham's family background as to his essential services as Secretary of State, leaving the latter phase of his life unillumined so far as the reader is concerned. Similarly, in the memoir of G. W. Goethals, about as much space is given to listing his decorations as to the part he played in the World War. Some of the biographies of captains of industry are equally unsatisfactory because the writers, apparently, were loath to speak ill of the dead. In the sketch of William L. Elkins no mention at all is made of the dubious aspects of his business operations (VI. 84–85). While the memoir of H. C. Frick admits that during the Homestead strike he "engaged with doubtful legality three hundred Pinkerton guards", yet the author quickly adds that Frick displayed "a reassuring trust in the principles of law and order" (VII. 30). In somewhat similar fashion, a lively account of the reckless financial career of "Bet-you-a-million" Gates is followed by the biographer's solemn assurance that Gates "fell short of genuine business leadership by the lack of a mature sense of public responsibility" (VII. 190). The sketch of E. L. Godkin is inadequate for a different reason. The author measures Godkin's services by his own inner sense of what constitutes "right thinking and sound politics" (VII. 349). Strangely enough, nothing is said as to Godkin's attitude in regard to labor unions.

Positive misstatements of fact are not numerous. One wonders at the reference to the "Southern chivalry" of the Boston-born Edgar Allan Poe (VI. 125). By no stretch of the imagination was the attack on Fort Moultrie in 1776 the "first British attack on America" (VI. 307). Frémont was never nominated for President by "the Free-Soil party" (VI. 360). The first *Elsie* book appeared in 1868, not 1867 (VI. 390). The spelling of John Fleeming's name with a single "e" (VI. 459) violates Fleeming's own practice while printer and publisher in Boston. Birney was nominated by the Liberty party, not the "Abolition party" (VII. 170). The publication date of Henry George's *The Science of Political Economy* is antedated ten years (VII. 215). James Gibbs is stated to have gone to Bristol, Rhode Island, ten years before there was such a place (VII. 245). The slogan, "He kept us out of war", derived from the Democratic platform of 1916 rather than from the speech of the temporary chairman of the national convention (VII. 335). The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People was not founded "very soon" after 1874 (VII. 632–633), but in 1909.

The tragic death of Allen Johnson on January 18, 1931, means that his name will not appear on the title-page of later volumes of the *Dic-*

tionary. Fortunately he lived long enough to complete the general plan of the work, make most of the assignments of articles, and train an editorial staff in accordance with his conception of the enterprise. The naming of Dumas Malone as sole editor-in-chief, together with the promotion of Harris E. Starr to the post of associate editor, is an assurance that future volumes will show no departure from the high literary and scholarly standards which Dr. Johnson was responsible for setting.

Harvard University. A. M. SCHLESINGER.

Winthrop Papers. Volume II., 1623–1630. (Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society. 1931. Pp. xxvi, 367.)

THE second volume of the *Winthrop Papers* covers the years from 1623 to 1630 and has brought together in one volume all material written by or sent to Winthrop, both published and unpublished, relating to the emigration to America. The first volume had included the papers relating to the Winthrop family in England only to 1628. The overlapping of the two volumes is due to the discovery of new material. In all, thirty-five new documents are included, of which three are of the first importance and interest. So elaborate a search of all libraries and collections in England and America has been pursued by Mr. W. C. Ford, Mr. G. W. Robinson, and others, that it seems hardly probable that anything further will be discovered. The various drafts and copies of letters and papers have been in addition so carefully collated and studied in accordance with the highest standards of scholarship that nothing more can now be learned from a study of the manuscripts themselves. The bibliography of the various documents in the footnotes is exhaustive and final. A great service has also been done by the editors in dating papers previously dated wrongly or impossible to date accurately at all. The meticulous collection of material about the Winthrop family and about early Massachusetts has further been so extended that it seems probable that nothing of consequence will be added to it. In all respects this volume seems authoritative and final. Where material has not been included, it is easily available elsewhere and adequate reference to it has been made. A few dates have not been extended; there are a few misprints and some errors; but none seem to be of real consequence.

The most important of the new papers is Winthrop's holograph draft of the "General Observations" for the Planting of New England, a document previously ascribed to the Rev. John White of Dorchester or to the Rev. Francis Higginson of Salem. The draft has been expertly handled by Mr. G. W. Robinson, collated with the others in existence, and a definitive text established. He shows conclusively Winthrop's authorship

of a document earlier than any we now have, which was circulated in numerous copies and revised at various times by Winthrop himself, the holograph now printed for the first time being its third version. There seems to be no doubt that the copies found among White's and Higginson's papers were sent to them by Winthrop. All other material on the plans for settlement has been examined and is now definitively arranged and dated. The editors conclude that Winthrop can not be shown to have entertained the notion of emigration before the spring of 1629, influenced probably by the open breach with the king in the parliamentary session of that year and by the unfortunate condition of his private affairs. He did not, however, reach a decision to go until August and then about August 12 wrote the "General Observations". While in the main these conclusions are merely affirmative of earlier conjectures and probabilities, it is important and interesting to have the issues laid at rest.

Winthrop's activities in the Court of Wards have been made known at length by the studies already published by Mr. G. W. Robinson but the "Notebook" is now printed for the first time and establishes definitely that Winthrop's work as attorney was no casual occupation but a considerable practice and reasonably lucrative. The third important document is the draft of a speech by Winthrop before the Massachusetts Bay Company, probably delivered on December 1, 1629, and throws some light on his personality and upon the financial affairs of the company. The other new papers are mainly illustrative.

Washington University. ROLAND G. USHER.

L'Expédition de Cavelier de La Salle dans le Golfe du Mexique, 1684–1687. Par le Baron MARC DE VILLIERS. (Paris: Adrien-Maisonneuve. 1931. Pp. 235. 80 fr.)

THIS study, the author's sixth contribution to the history of Louisiana, is a distinct achievement in rigorous reëxamination of historical sources. M. de Villiers has gone back to the originals in the Archives Hydrographiques, and has called into service the geographers, oceanographers, and geologists. He knows the recent work of Bolton, Hackett, and Dunn and agrees with Winsor's close scholarship upon important points. He is able to dispose of the principal animadversions against Captain Beaujeu to which Gravier, Chesnel, and Parkman gave currency and which Lauvrière has recently repeated. He makes a clear case against the tortuous misrepresentations of Abbé Jean Cavelier, demonstrates alterations in Joutel's journal, and exposes again the unscholarly editorial practices of Margry.

On the positive side, the author has definitely cleared Beaujeu of having deserted La Salle or of having plotted his ruin. Actually, La Salle at one

time tried to elude Beaujeu, refused to accept his wise offer of recourse to the West Indies for help, and dismissed him and his ships. It therefore seems proven that La Salle was chiefly responsible for the disaster. A persuasive itinerary of the coastal operations is presented, the overland retreat is equally well reconstructed, and the location of La Salle's assassination near the junction of Kickapoo Creek and the Trinity River will not suffer in closeness of reasoning when compared with Bolton's suggestion. Finally, the record of the ultimate fate of the members of the expedition is given.

Students of the Gulf expedition might differ with the author over such matters as his use of Beaujeu's own statements, his hypotheses concerning Jarry (or Géry), and the emphasis given to La Salle's search for the Bay of Espiritu Sancto. Any analysis of La Salle's aims is necessarily difficult, but when it involves contradictions, they should be noted as such. It seems unwarranted to decide what La Salle really believed about the geography of the Mississippi Delta, its western tributaries, and the location of the Spanish settlements. The tendency in frankly controversial historiography to be uncritical with sources which corroborate one's thesis is evidenced here in the use made of Minet's journal. Lastly, the impression that the relations of the French at Fort St. Louis with the Indians were almost uniformly hostile seems incorrect.

Actually, extreme charges against either La Salle or Beaujeu are unconvincing. We still lack (perhaps inevitably) a resolution of the ideas which coursed through La Salle's brain when he discovered that his insincere adoption of Penalosa's projects had put him in an ambiguous position in America and with the king and Seignelay. We need not agree with M. de Villiers that La Salle was mad, but his brilliance and stubbornness could become melancholy and perversity in the face of obvious failure. Perhaps it would be safest to think of La Salle's southern exploits in terms of a new and cheaper trade route to the interior and as being closely related in time and stimulus to Radisson's recent inspiration concerning Hudson Bay.

Columbia University. J. Bartlet Brebner.

The Epic of America. By James Truslow Adams. (Boston: Little, Brown, and Company. 1931. Pp. viii, 433. $3.00.)

In a prologue, thirteen chapters, and an epilogue James Truslow Adams has related the epic of America (that is to say, the epic of the United States of America). The term epic is perhaps unfortunate. Long associated with poetry in the grand style, it raises our expectations unduly by preparing us for something extraordinary, something dramatic in content, something distinguished in form. We are, inevitably no doubt, a little

disappointed. Although readable, informing, and thought-provoking, the book belies its title. It does not, to me at least, convey the epic quality of American history; or rather it leaves me with the impression that up to date the "epic" (except as a "dream") has turned out a rather humdrum and sordid affair, and that it is likely to peter out altogether unless the actors in the drama, since they know their rôles none too well, are far more effectively coached in the future than they have been in the past. The dream has been magnificant—a vision of liberty, equality, and the Great Society; the performance has been what we know—the ruthless exploitation of a rich, virgin country by people who, uprooted from the stabilizing influences of an older culture and fully occupied with material interests, have found compensation for the inevitable decline of knowledge and the art of living by naïvely glorifying the practical activities.

Mr. Adams is an intelligent disciple of Frederick Jackson Turner; and the chief merit of his book is in its discriminating emphasis on the influence of the "frontier" (the existence of free land) in shaping the democratic civilization of the United States. "Had the Pacific Ocean washed the western slopes of the Alleghanies, the type of civilization would probably have continued along the lines of eighteenth century European culture" (p. 114). But Mr. Adams differs from Turner in his estimate of the quality of frontier civilization: whereas Turner for the most part finds in the buoyancy and self-reliance and optimism of the frontier spirit an intimation of a new and better freedom, Adams for the most part finds in the decline of knowledge, the increase of lawlessness, and the concentration on material advantages which were inseparable from frontier life something less glamorous and engaging, something even a little ominous. "Life had been growing freer and more independent for the poor, but also less cultured in the broad sense. American advance has always involved a selection. If that selection has always meant that the more democratic, the more independent, courageous, and ambitious—as well, it must not be forgotten, as the more shiftless—have passed on to the frontiers as pioneers, so it has also meant that those for whom education, the pleasures of social life, aesthetic and intellectual opportunities . . . have counted as more important than a material getting ahead, have for the most part usually stayed behind. They have been deposited in successive 'older settlements' like sediment in a stream in flood" (p. 123). "Of the moral muddle into which we got by raising money-making to the rank of a patriotic and moral virtue I have already spoken. This was the cancer that ate deep into the vitals of our life. It meant not merely that money could be set off against order, . . . but the demoralization of our whole attitude towards law and public life" (p. 225). And the less amiable traits nourished by the frontier, having outlived the conditions that developed them, have

become, as it were, acquired characteristics, have even been intensified by the strain and stress of the industrial and technological transformation of the last fifty years. Certainly the lineaments of the "Great Society" are not to be discerned in the period following the Civil War, still less perhaps in the golden age of Harding, Coolidge, and Hoover. "The barbarous callousness of the motoring millions, the littered roadsides, the use of our most beautiful scenery for the advertising of products which should be boycotted for that very reason, are but symptoms of our slipping down from civilized standards of life, as are also our lawlessness and corruption, with the cynical disregard of them by the people" (p. 403). For Mr. Adams the frontier is, in great part at least, the explanation for the "rawness" of American civilization as well as for its strength and promise.

That it has a promise Mr. Adams does not deny. In fact he insists upon it. At not too great intervals the deprecatory note gives way to a strain of enthusiasm, and in many an "aside" he assures us that "there has also been the *American dream,* that dream of a land in which life should become fuller for every man, with opportunity for each according to his ability or achievement" (p. 404). The point is that he has to insist on it—has to tell us this in asides since it does not clearly emerge from the main theme. It is as if Mr. Adams wrote the book to remind us of something that is in danger of being lost in the shuffle—to remind us of the "dream" we once cherished but have forgotten. Or is it only that he wishes to reassure himself? Amazed and saddened by the passing scene, is he perhaps whistling to keep up his courage, preaching to us in order to save himself from complete disillusionment? At all events the book is not pitched in the epic style. It is not a narrative of great events which take on grandeur from the tragic conflict between men's aspirations and the implacable decrees of fate, but rather a sustained commentary on events for the purpose of explaining the messy situation in which they have landed us and of pointing out what must be done to clear it up. Giving good advice is out of place in an epic. Yet Mr. Adams gives us plenty of advice, and closes by underlining the moral lesson of the tale.

> If the American dream is to be a reality, our communal and spiritual and intellectual life must be distinctly higher than elsewhere. . . . If the dream is not to prove possible of fulfillment, we might as well become stark realists, become once more class-conscious, and struggle as individuals or classes against one another. If it is to come true, those on top, financially, intellectually, or otherwise, have got to devote themselves to the "Great Society", and those who are below in the scale have got to strive to rise, not merely economically, but culturally. We cannot become a great democracy by giving ourselves up as individuals to selfishness, physical comfort, and cheap amusements. . . .

It [the dream] can never be wrought into a reality by cheap people or by 'keeping up with the Joneses'.

All this, if somewhat trite, is appropriate enough for closing the interesting and valuable tract for the times which Mr. Adams's book turns out to be. But the laudable irritation which inspires it banishes all sense of epic grandeur and tragic conflict which the story of America is so well suited to convey. I close the book feeling that I have been ably instructed, but with no sense of having had my soul purged by fear and pity.

Cornell University. CARL BECKER.

American Interpretations of Natural Law: a Study in the History of Political Thought. By BENJAMIN FLETCHER WRIGHT, JR., Assistant Professor of Government in Harvard University. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1931. Pp. x, 360. $3.50.)

THE appeal from the law that is to the law which ought to be is a recurrent theme in legal history. For the medievalist law was "the breath of God, the harmony of the world" and it remained in essence theological and transcendental until the eighteenth century, when the emphasis was placed upon reason. A parallel transition marks the development of the natural law concept in early America, and throughout American history the appeal from positivism to idealism has found expression in forms strangely diverse. In the colonial period the principal service of the law of nature was in behalf of individualism and freedom from imperialistic control; in the modern courts it has become a retrograde concept which would invest special interests with permanent privileges.

Following in the path blazed by Haines, Corwin, and Dickinson, Professor Wright has traced the various interpretations of natural law which have been developed in America. After devoting the first four chapters to the seventeenth century theological concept of American Puritanism, which was virtually the position of St. Augustine and Thomas Aquinas, and to the Revolutionary theories which embodied the rationalistic viewpoint of Grotius, Pufendorf, and Locke, Wright devotes the major portion of the volume to the Federal era, when the law of nature becomes all things to all men. In the polemical literature inspired by the state constitutions it was employed to support both the aristocracy of John Adams and the more democratic views of such opponents as John Taylor of Caroline. The enemies of slavery and the advocates of that institution both found support in the law of nature. With John Quincy Adams it became a safeguard against the abuse of power by the majority and with Story it afforded strong protection to the vested rights of property holders. In the decades immediately following the Civil War it appeared reincar-

nated in the garb of "due process", "liberty of contract", and the judicial criterion of "reasonableness".

While the general outline of this development has been satisfactorily sketched by Professor Wright, he has seldom wandered from familiar highways, with the result that very little new material has been unearthed. His statement (p. 6) of the medieval position ignores the threefold division of the schoolmen, according to which the law of nature was considered as comprising the instincts of nature, often identified with the will of God, the *ius gentium*, and the moral law of the Scriptures. While the more familiar printed literature of the colonial period has been examined, the author has not adequately investigated the impressive collection of sermon literature for the eighteenth century, replete with revolutionary arguments derived from the Bible and natural law. So valued a source of politico-theological opinion as the published writings of Samuel Johnson was not consulted, although an interesting exposition of the law of nature is available therein. Before one can fairly conclude "that only a very few persons, other than the clergy of the New England colonies, made any very important use of natural law arguments" (p. 37), it would be desirable to examine the briefs and other legal papers of colonial attorneys. This subject is totally undeveloped, yet such collections as those of William Samuel Johnson and others indicate that this is a mine possessing a rich and unworked ore. In dealing with the Revolutionary period, the author neglects to indicate that the resort to the "rights of Englishmen" was more influential and more frequent than the appeal to the "rights of man". It does not seem quite fair to dwell upon the position of the younger Dulany (both the elder and younger are referred to throughout as Dulaney) and to ignore the important natural law arguments of Charles Carroll, his opponent on a later occasion.

The author concludes with a useful summary of the various interpretations of natural law. While indicating that the law of nature was generally discarded and frequently explicitly repudiated after the Civil War, when the Austinian concept as expounded by Burgess gained the ascendancy, he does not give sufficient weight to the influence in America of the revival of natural law in militant form by Stammler, Saleilles, Del Vecchio, and other Continental scholars, nor does he seem aware that in America to-day this concept constitutes a major bulwark against the onslaughts of the so-called "realistic" school and the constant encroachments of administrative bodies upon the citadel of the law.

The College of the City of New York. RICHARD B. MORRIS.

The Diplomatic Relations of the United States with the Barbary Powers, 1776–1816. By RAY W. IRWIN. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1931. Pp. vii, 225. $3.00.)

THIS book consists largely of an account of the successive attempts by the government of the United States to gain some measure of immunity for its merchant marine from the attacks of the Barbary pirates. The author apparently has used a great mass of material, including the documents of the Department of State, the large collections of manuscripts, contemporary narratives, poems, pamphlets, and newspapers. He does not appear, however, to have examined the documentary material abroad. Such an examination might have cleared up a number of unsolved problems in connection with the policy of the European powers toward American efforts to check the depredations of the pirates. We should like to know, for example, whether there was any foundation for the charge, so freely made in this country at the time, that the British government encouraged the Barbary rulers to continue their attacks on American shipping.

The record of American policy toward the Barbary powers during the first twenty-five years of our national independence, as set forth in this volume, scarcely tends to arouse the reader's admiration for the ability of those who were responsible for that policy. Jefferson, it is true, seems to have gained a remarkable insight into the problem of Barbary piracy. While he was minister to France, he declared that the only way to solve the problem was to use force, and with this end in view endeavored to bring about concerted action by the United States with certain of the European governments. None of these schemes, however, was carried into effect. Moreover, the treaty of 1795 with Algiers, which obligated the United States government to pay the equivalent of almost $1,000,000, proved of little value in securing permanently satisfactory relations with that country; on the other hand, it stimulated the cupidity of the Barbary rulers and encouraged them to make new and more outrageous exactions from the United States and the weaker European powers.

In the meantime, however, an American navy had been constructed; and at the beginning of Jefferson's administration the government finally adopted the policy which the President himself had recommended so many years earlier. When the ruler of Tripoli declared war against the United States, the challenge was accepted, and the war was fought by the American forces who took part in that remarkable enterprise with a courage and audacity to which the author of this volume does full justice. In 1807, after the visit of American vessels to Tunis, peace with that state was placed on a fairly firm foundation. Algiers, it is true, took advantage of the withdrawal of American vessels from the Mediterranean to renew its

depredations on American commerce. But in 1815 this state was brought to terms by the squadrons of Decatur and Bainbridge.

The book on the whole is well written. Here and there, it is true, there is an awkwardly phrased sentence, and occasionally an obscure expression. But the narrative is for the most part smooth-running, systematic, clear, and interesting. The skillful use of quotations from contemporary documents, narratives, speeches, and editorial articles gives something of the spirit and flavor of the period.

St. Stephen's College. F. R. Flournoy.

Pichardo's Treatise on the Limits of Louisiana and Texas. Edited by Charles Wilson Hackett, Professor of Latin-American History in the University of Texas. Volume I. (Austin: University of Texas Press. 1931. Pp. xx, 630. $6.50.)

Composed between 1808 and 1812, this work is a defense of Spain's position in the controversy with the United States over the western boundary of Louisiana. In elaborating his argument Father Pichardo ranged far and wide over the field of international rivalries in North America from the fifteenth century to the nineteenth. The present volume, we are told, gives the English translation of "approximately the first one-fourth" of the treatise. The whole work, then, must contain at least 750,000 words. No wonder the author, worn out by the "extreme labor" of his task, died within less than a year after completing it.

A conscientious historian, Pichardo wrote largely from documentary sources. Partly for this reason, the editor is confident that the treatise "will be recognized as constituting a contribution as monumental and as fundamental for the history of the important Texas-Louisiana area" as are the works of Arredondo and Palóu for other portions of the Spanish borderlands. There will probably be little if any dissent from this opinion when the remaining volumes have been published, especially since the editor states that "Pichardo's greatest contribution in the way of historical data is in the last half of his treatise". There is unquestionably a great deal of lost motion in presenting the history of a region in the form of an argument about a boundary; but in the present case the method resulted in the accumulation of a large store of information, which an elaborate index renders most useful for reference purposes. It remains to be seen whether this information will substantially alter the prevailing opinion on the boundary controversy.

The editor's introduction is judicious and enlightening, and his division of the treatise into chapters, with appropriate titles, deserves the patient reader's gratitude. As the Spanish text has not been published, the reviewer

has been unable to check the translation. The annotations are copious and in most cases satisfactory, though it seems hardly worth while either to identify Pythagoras in a footnote (p. 26) as "a celebrated Greek philosopher of the sixth century before Christ", or to refer the reader to encyclopædias for information regarding Abbé Raynal (p. 16, n. 2). The misprints are rather numerous, but will doubtless be corrected in a second edition. The Latin title and the English translation thereof (pp. 26, 27) contain several errors, including one of omission, which, alas, misses a pun. Bernardo de Gálvez died in 1786, not in 1794 (p. 381, n. 2), and Spanish West Florida did not have a governor of its own (pp. xi, xii) but was under the governor of Louisiana and West Florida, who resided at New Orleans. Four maps add greatly to the attractiveness and value of this volume.

Cornell University. ARTHUR P. WHITAKER.

Daniel Webster. By CLAUDE MOORE FUESS. Two volumes. Volume I., 1782–1830; volume II., 1830–1852. (Boston: Little, Brown, and Company. 1930. Pp. x, 398; 465. $10.00.)

THIS is the biography of the scion of a New Hampshire yeoman, who became the bulwark of the conservatism of his day and the outstanding champion of the Constitution and the Union. It is certainly unnecessary to recount here the outlines of the career of the Yankee constitutionalist. These are carefully chronicled, with a minimum of artifice or suppression, by a biographer who has tried to approach his subject without being blinded by the splendor of the "god-like Daniel". The result is a lack of cumbersome detail and of undigested quotation. Mr. Fuess has carefully explored all available Webster material but wisely refrains from using it to clutter up his text; yet his pages do not thereby suffer from want of local color.

The picture which is painted is the most favorable one possible without distortion of the sources. Mr. Fuess is nothing if not a sympathetic critic. And the reader is carried along by him to an intense admiration for this Middle Period master of statecraft. Perhaps there is an exaggerated tendency to emphasize Webster's predestined Union-saving labors. This is all the more evident in view of the author's willingness to face the facts of Webster's narrow sectionalism and anti-war position both in 1812 and in 1846. Indeed, Mr. Fuess does not hesitate to pronounce them the factious wrong-headedness of a disgruntled leader out of touch with his era. But this test is not consistently applied, for the same maladjustment with the forces of progress could be claimed of much of Webster's political career. On the other hand, it is scarcely within the province of the historian to moralize on these matters.

The biographer finds in his subject "a philosophical realist, with an intensely practical mind" (I. 315). This accounts for his views on the tariff, including the *volte-face* which he executed in the 'twenties. Mr. Fuess admits that his attempt to defend his consistency was "disingenuous rather than convincing" (I. 377); that he probably attached "an undue importance to material possessions" (I. 278). This explains the dependence upon his facile eloquence of the merchants and bankers of Boston's State Street as well as of the Massachusetts industrialists. Their economic interests were often brought home to him through his own pocketbook, especially when he began to depend upon his wealthy friends to "contrive some way for me to get rich" (I. 164) or to make up the deficits that grew out of his lavish and careless management of his personal business affairs and threatened to make politics a luxury he could not otherwise afford. Webster could remind the officials of the Bank of the United States that his retaining fee needed "sweetening" at the very time he was urging in the Senate its claims to recharter; he could even make his acceptance of the secretaryship of state in 1850 depend upon the success of a banker friend in passing the hat to raise a purse (of $20,000) to compensate for his pecuniary sacrifices. "Webster's carelessness in money matters", says his biographer, who properly insists upon judging him in the light of the standards of his own day, "was sometimes not far from moral delinquency" (II. 393–394).

Like his Federalism Webster's Whiggery is revealed as the politics of a thoroughgoing conservative who appreciated the needs of the vested interest groups of his day and upon whose conscience the burdens of humanity did not rest heavily. Indeed, the Seventh of March Speech was a fundamental proclamation—by a great Union-saver, to be sure—that there was nothing of the crusading spirit of the hated abolitionists in Webster's anti-slavery views and that in the last analysis he was prepared to give due consideration to the property interests menaced by disunion.

In contrast with the clarity of the interpretation of Webster's personal politics is the often confused picture of party politics, which includes anachronistic references to the National Republican and Democratic parties (I. 334–335), and only a partial understanding of Whig origins (II. 5, 23, 80–81). If the origins of the Compromise Tariff of 1833 had been more clearly revealed, it would now be easier to understand Webster's distaste for it. There are other matters of detail that invite criticism; yet these are mainly of debatable points upon which there may well be difference of opinion. Mr. Fuess, avoiding the extremes of muckraking or of hero worship, has made a most important contribution to Webster literature.

Western Reserve University. ARTHUR C. COLE.

Forty-Niners: the Chronicle of the California Trail. By ARCHER BUTLER HULBERT, Director of the Stewart Commission on Western History of Colorado College. (Boston: Little, Brown and Company. 1931. Pp. xvii, 340. $3.50.)

ARCHER BUTLER HULBERT has retained for a generation the place he seized by the publication of his *Historic Highways of America* in 1902. He is, without challenge, the leader in the field of American historical topography. The sixteen familiar little volumes with which he began his work were in some cases less well executed than conceived, for their author was at the beginning of a career, and coworkers in the local history of the West had as yet done little to help him. But his sketches were followed by scores of specialized studies that showed a growing mastery of the vast detail of American expansion, and a creative imagination that was forever seeing new pictures where most of his associates had regarded the work of exploitation as complete. He has now, in *Forty-Niners,* undertaken a composite picture of that greatest of the treks that brought our California into being and moved a hundred thousand emigrants across the plains, in small groups, in less than half a decade.

The task has intrigued many of us; and various have been the approaches since Francis Parkman went upon the plains for local color, and produced *The Oregon Trail.* The difficulty has been to assemble from a multitude of narratives (and they run to the hundreds), the experiences and observations of the continental adventurer. The ordinary methods of historical narrative are ineffective before a theme that is in its essentials descriptive. The standard technique of criticism loses its force before details whose inaccuracy is not only possible but obvious. Nearly every one of the adventurers who recorded his doings, night by night, or who wrote them up from recollection, availed himself of the immemorial license of the traveler, making his good stories better, and rationalizing his adversities as he may do whose actions can not be checked. Only the topographic itineraries survive as bedrock fact. Most of the statements of event can not be proved. Yet we know that myriads crossed the plains, and the theme songs of their several stories make a grand harmony.

In some respects the story of the trails can not be told until it is thrown into the form of epic poetry, or comes under the hand of the historical novelist. Hulbert has here tried the method of fabricating a journal, built day by day from the best of the materials out of the hundreds of surviving records. He knows the routes, having traveled them himself. He has handled the original township plats of the government surveys. He knows the journal writers, too; and all the choicest bits that the student of these records cherishes find place in his synthetic structure. The interest is

extreme; but, historically speaking, it is greater than the fact. Most of the migrants had long tedium to withstand, with day so much like day that Sunday became a matter of computation; and even months could be identified only by the progress of the seasons. Exciting adventure occasionally relieved the monotony, but none had the continuous procession of sharp experiences that Hulbert's hypothetical writer narrates. There was, indeed, a Donner party with its tragic end; but ocean travel can not be pictured by the *Titanic,* nor even summer excursion by the *Slocum.* The general reader who, tasting this sample, seeks the literature of the Western movement, will find much of it flat and disappointing.

But Hulbert has conceived a gallant enterprise, and has made a handsome book. His initial sketch map has been badly mangled by a careless draftsman.

The University of Wisconsin. FREDERIC L. PAXSON.

Sheridan: a Military Narrative. By JOSEPH HERGESHEIMER. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1931. Pp. 382. $4.00.)

IT is never safe to consider a book as an objective thing, unrelated to the subjective aspects of its authorship. Ten years ago, James Branch Cabell published a brilliant interpretation of Joseph Hergesheimer in which he pointed out characteristic features of his writing, such as detailed description of objects, a feeling for style, sharp outlines, and the habit of transfiguring the world of reality into "a world of extraordinary vividness, a drama of high questing foiled". This book contains these features. Mr. Cabell's interpretation still holds good.

The contents of the book are divided into four parts. The first of these is a foreword of thirty-eight pages, an episodical treatment of Sheridan before midsummer 1863. The second is entitled The Mountain and covers in 110 pages the campaign around Chattanooga in the autumn of that year. The third part, of 112 pages, is styled The Valley and is concerned with Sheridan's command in the Shenandoah Valley in the late autumn of 1864, while the final division, The Plain, of 108 pages, takes up the campaign from Petersburg to Appomattox in the last two months of the war. This organization is, of course, that of the drama, a subordination of historical treatment to literary device.

But within his literary device and the dramatic organization of his theme, Mr. Hergesheimer has done a very creditable piece of historical work. He is no romantic hero worshiper. Very little conscious distortion of fact or perspective is apparent. Mr. Hergesheimer really reveals to a larger public what was already fairly well known to those familiar with the records, that Sheridan had done little of significance before the final days of the Civil War. And he indicates that, even then, as in earlier

cases, his success was against a numerically inferior and somewhat demoralized opposition.

The volume is not without historical errors and faults. Nashville was never in Confederate control after its occupation in February, 1862 (p. 61). Longstreet having left Chattanooga on November 4, his troops were with him and not on Lookout Mountain on November 24 (pp. 127, 133). A mere catalogue of the settlement of the Shenandoah Valley is not good historiography (pp. 154–157). Lee certainly did not have "a reasonably well equipped army of more than three hundred thousand in the field" in 1865 (p. 269). And inevitably the dramatic organization of the book leaves significant omissions in the chronological narrative, as for example, Sheridan's part in the Petersburg campaign of midsummer 1864. But the demerits of authorship from a purely historical viewpoint are less than one would expect.

Strange as it may seem, the literary style is sometimes difficult to follow. To the historical reader it will seem involved, with too many adjectives and too much apposition. And the maps are too small. Large folded maps would seem to have been needed. The bibliography, while extensive, is mainly that of secondary works. All in all, the volume is worth while for its perspective and comparative freedom from prejudice and hero worship.

The University of Pittsburgh. ALFRED P. JAMES.

A History of the United States since the Civil War. By ELLIS PAXSON OBERHOLTZER. Volume IV., 1878–1888. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1931. Pp. xi, 743. $5.25.)

THE fourth volume of Mr. Oberholtzer's work, which carries the narrative from the middle of Hayes's administration to the eve of the election of 1888, displays the same characteristics which marked the first three—a straightforward style, a thoroughgoing concentration upon Federal politics, a consistently critical attitude toward public men, and an almost exclusive reliance for material upon congressional documents, newspapers, and biographies. Ignoring anything that other historians have written on the period, Mr. Oberholtzer ploughs his way through the legislation, elections, personal controversies, and newspaper comments of ten years. Now and then he pauses to bring in some subject that lies a little to one side of the focus, such as the Chinese question, the New South and the West, but these remain episodes. His main concern is with congressional and presidential politics. All this is useful spade-work, reducing to manageable sequence an immense amount of scattered material and incorporating vast numbers of pertinent and effective citations, especially from newspapers.

One will look in vain, of course, through Mr. Oberholtzer's pages for

any attempt to unify the events he chronicles by seeking underlying economic or psychological forces, or by analyzing the dislocation between the parties whose doings he studies and the rising demands of different social and sectional groups. The only explanation he offers for the inflation sentiment of the 'eighties is that "the state of the public mind . . . revealed a disturbance of judgment with many classes of the people on the subject of property generally". In another place after quoting some inflationist arguments he characterizes them as "gammon" and dismisses them. Such things do not interest him.

This is not to say, however, that Mr. Oberholtzer is without a guiding purpose, for no one can read a dozen pages without becoming aware of it. His aim is to deliver moral judgments on the statesmen who pass before him. He makes no psychological study of his victims; he does not trouble himself to look into their history or environment for explanations of their actions. He has set up for himself certain standards of principle and conduct for public men. If any man fall short of them he is mercilessly characterized as weak or bad; if he approaches them he receives guarded praise. They are the standards of Mr. Oberholtzer's youth and early manhood, of the "Independents", "Civil Service Reformers", E. L. Godkin and the *Nation*. Hence we find such men as Sherman, Garfield, and especially Blaine subjected to severe castigation, while Arthur, Cleveland, and of course Hayes are approved. What we have, in fact, is history as written by one of the surviving "Reformers" of the 'eighties, reproducing more than forty years later, in an utterly different world, the simple and direct standards of a vanished era. The present reviewer finds something robust about it, as he does in any form of Puritanism. Mr. Oberholtzer has moral standards and enforces them. His censoriousness may be old-fashioned, but it arises from definite principles and it has the strength that comes with such an origin. With the cynical or ironical writers of the day who sneer at all standards and despise the men of the 'eighties as hypocritical Victorians, he has nothing in common. But his austerity and their flippancy lead to a similar outcome, for they rest, at bottom, on nothing but personal opinion. They condemn, but they explain nothing.

Williams College. THEODORE CLARKE SMITH.

Theodore Roosevelt: a Biography. By HENRY F. PRINGLE. (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company. 1931. Pp. x, 627. $5.00.)

THE historian's revaluation of important political figures is an interesting process. While the great man is alive, and immediately thereafter, the historian's attitude is likely to be swayed much by the likeableness of his hero, and less distinctly by the statesman's ideals and accomplishments.

When the spell of personal magnetism is dulled or gone, the ideals and the accomplishments stand out in higher relief—and revaluations are in order. Possibly we are now approaching the time when such uncritical eulogies of Roosevelt as that by J. B. Bishop can be relegated to the past. At any rate, Mr. Pringle has made an excellent beginning in this process.

Roughly, Mr. Pringle has devoted two-fifths of his space to Roosevelt's career previous to the Presidency, slightly more than two-fifths to the years from 1901 to 1909, and slightly less than one-fifth to Roosevelt's later life.

Possibly the first part of the book is the best. Here Mr. Pringle found awaiting him enough material and to spare. But he did not find the material so overwhelming in its mass and complexity as he did in connection with the Presidency. The first part of the volume is, therefore, somewhat more in focus. The early years of Roosevelt, his college career, his political beginnings, his activities as a civil service commissioner, as police commissioner, as assistant secretary of the navy, and in the war with Spain are recounted in crisp and telling style—by all odds the best account of those years that this reviewer has seen.

It is important to notice that the glamour surrounding the name of Roosevelt has sufficiently subsided so that Mr. Pringle finds genuine revaluation by no means impossible. He notes Roosevelt's early anxiety for publicity, his development as a "jingo", the close of the police commissionership "largely in failure", his lack of a keen judgment of men, and the adolescent quality of his ambition. At no place, so far as I have noted, has Mr. Pringle been captious in criticism. Rather he has read the evidence, and let the evidence tell the story.

The narrative of the Presidency is less effective, but this is largely due to the appalling amount of material at hand and to the confusion of overlapping and interrelated events. Perhaps the total effect of Roosevelt's occupation of the executive chair is greater than the sum of its parts—the parts being trust control, Panama, the Russo-Japanese War, Algeciras, and so on.

The closing chapters are of least interest, because Mr. Pringle could not use the Roosevelt manuscripts for the period after 1909. This is not to say, however, that they do not present an entertaining story. The whole matter of the projected Roosevelt division of the A. E. F., for example, is told with a calm and critical finality—far removed from the usual partisan accounts.

In the main, Mr. Pringle has relied for his authority on the resources of the Roosevelt Memorial House and the Roosevelt correspondence in the Library of Congress. An excellent bibliographical statement appears as an appendix.

Two paragraphs (pp. 524, 602), seem to challenge each other. In the

first, Mr. Pringle tells how mistaken a newspaper man was in 1910 when he attempted to judge Mr. Roosevelt's inner feelings by the outward expression of his face. In the second, he apparently assumes that newspaper men could accurately derive Mr. Wilson's feelings on the death of Roosevelt by their observation of him through a car window. This reviewer does not think that the assumption is a just one, nor does it add to the author's story.

On the whole, Mr. Pringle has given us a highly desirable addition to the Roosevelt literature. It is entertainingly written, well documented, candid, keen, and in good temper.

Dartmouth College. CHARLES R. LINGLEY.

Norwegian Migration to America, 1825–1860. By THEODORE C. BLEGEN, Associate Professor of History in the University of Minnesota and Assistant Superintendent of the Minnesota Historical Society. (Northfield: Norwegian-American Historical Association, 1931. Pp. xi, 413. $3.50.)

The Background of Swedish Immigration, 1840–1930. By FLORENCE EDITH JANSON, Ph.D., Professor of Government in Rockford College. [The University of Chicago Social Science Monographs, no. 15.] (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1931. Pp. x, 517. $5.00.)

ALL circumstances conspire to foster the writing of the history of transatlantic migration in terms of nationalities. The foresight that gathers and preserves the records, the funds that support research and publication, and the individual persistence that carries through any particular enterprise are largely semipatriotic in their origin. But the student of American history is not interested primarily in nationalities. The significance of the movement is broader than the experiences of detached groups; and its full meaning will not be revealed until the natural emigration areas of Europe, at present obscured by statistics, laws, and conventional treatment, are delineated and until the mysterious forces that, disregarding political boundaries, operated to set mankind in motion, are understood.

If all histories of national groups were written in the scientific spirit that characterizes these two volumes, their production would mark a distinct advance toward this goal. Although the scope of each is limited, certain similarities appear which indicate that the two countries of the Scandinavian peninsula were passing through a common transition. The classes affected were the same, yeomen and cotters; among the pioneer emigrants, religious dissatisfaction was a stronger motive than economic uncertainty; group migration ultimately gave way to individual and family migration; each country witnessed in the decades preceding the

exodus a phenomenal increase of its agricultural population which led to the occupation of marginal lands and the subdivision of farms into uneconomic units; popular agitation for agrarian and constitutional reform aroused a desire for change and developed a psychological background against which the advantages of America, described by agents, letters, guidebooks, and returned exiles, stood out in clear relief.

Professor Blegen closes his account with 1860, but the story before that date is complete. He accompanies the emigrant from his native village to his final home. The varying causes of departure, the problems of transportation and distribution, the almost blind search for a region in which Norwegians would thrive, are detailed in clear, readable, and concise chapters which are accompanied by a wealth of references to archives and printed sources. The "Sloop Party" of 1825 is related to the subsequent movement; Cleng Peerson is recognized as the "father of Norwegian immigration"; and discussions of emigrant songs and the California Gold Rush illustrate some of the emotional impulses that were present. It is a disappointment to read in the preface that the history will be completed in one more volume. Two volumes will be necessary if the present high standard is to be maintained.

Miss Janson confines her discussion to the Swedish background. The chapters are long and include much which is of little value if the purpose of presenting the background is to further the understanding of Swedish experiences in America. But the description of the kingdom in 1840 and the exposition of the agrarian laws which transformed the countryside are admirable presentations of complicated conditions; and the hitherto neglected lumber and iron industries are considered in relation to rural life. Occasional epigrammatic statements sum up a situation in a forceful way and compensate for many paragraphs which seem irrelevant. Extensive use is made of the monographic literature dealing with modern Swedish history; and the author, not content with archives and papers, has, herself, traveled the steerage to learn from the lips of the emigrants their interpretation of migration.

The University of Illinois. MARCUS L. HANSEN.

Survey of American Foreign Relations. Prepared under the Direction of CHARLES P. HOWLAND, Director of Research of the Council on Foreign Relations, Research Associate in Government at Yale University. [Publications of the Council on Foreign Relations, 1931.] (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1931. Pp. xiv, 504. $5.00.)

THIS fourth annual volume of surveys maintains the methods and high standing of the preceding. The factor here taken for emphasis is that of

the relations of the United States and Mexico. It begins with a description of Mexico, including a searching analysis of population elements and the contrast of cultures, and includes a brief account of the earlier relations between the two countries. Five maps illustrate the discussion. It is followed by a section on economic relations and the attitude of the Diaz government toward foreign capital. There succeeds a series of chapters on particular industries and economic problems, each treated with reference to Mexican history and law, to the changed conditions brought about by the later Mexican revolutions, and to United States interests involved. These include Mexican Land Legislation, the Oil Controversy, the Mexican Debt Problem, Mexican Immigration, Labor, Claims, and Church and State in Mexico. All are notable for their dispassionate statement of facts, for the wide conception of each subject, and the knowledge they display. The chapter on Church and State, however, does not give the proper background for an understanding of the latest phase of that problem, the anti-clerical legislation by states. In fact, considering the otherwise comprehensive nature of the whole treatment, there might well have been included in the book a brief discussion of Mexican federalism. Some of the notes on special topics, as Expropriation in International Law and Alien Land Law, rise to the point of contributions to knowledge. Credit is perhaps dispensed to individuals more freely than blame, but this is probably merely a reflection of the attempt to place before the reader the point of view of each party. There is no undue optimism over the general situation in Mexico but a feeling that international relationships are in a better posture than ten years ago—an impression that will certainly be justified if this book is widely read by the American public.

Section II., beginning on page 317 and running to 430, is on World Order and Coördination. This is entirely devoted to a timely treatment of Limitation of Armament. Here the earlier history is not included as in the case of Mexico, but rather a survey is made of the year 1931. In succession there are presented the Anglo-American Negotiations, the Pre-Conference Negotiations with Other Interested Powers, the Five Power Conference, the Treaty, the Ratification of the Treaty, the Preparatory Commission, with a note on the Food Ship Proposal.

Section III., pages 431 to 486, deals with Post-War Financial Relations. The first chapter is a clear description of the creation, organization, and business of the Bank for International Settlements, with a cast forward to its possibilities including that of American participation. Chapter II. gives the present status of the Mixed Claims Commission of the United States and Germany; chapter III. deals with the War Claims of American Nationals against Austria and Hungary.

It remains only for the reviewer to repeat his opinion stated in previous

reviews of the series that in workmanship and perspective it far excels all other similar annuals with which he is familiar and its volumes will have a reference value long after they have ceased to be contemporary. Perhaps such a judgment should be supplemented by the remark that the style is clear and often vivid, and the scholarship need not deter any intelligent seeker after knowledge.

The University of Wisconsin. CARL RUSSELL FISH.

Bibliography of the Printed Maps of Michigan, 1804–1880, with a Series of over One Hundred Reproductions of Maps constituting an Historical Atlas of the Great Lakes and Michigan. By LOUIS C. KARPINSKI, Ph.D. (Lansing: Michigan Historical Commission. 1931. Pp. 539.)

PROFESSOR KARPINSKI is a mathematician who pursues the study of cartography as an avocation. The present volume summarizes some of the fruits of his labors in this field over a long period of years. In their pursuit he enjoyed the support of a number of coöperating educational and scientific institutions, chief among which were the William L. Clements Library and the Michigan Historical Commission.

The volume is divided into several chapters of widely varying length and importance. Chapter I. presents a discussion of the printed maps of Michigan, followed by a supplementary note of equal length by W. L. Jenks on a Michigan family of mapmakers, John Farmer and his descendants, of Detroit. Chapter II. treats briefly the subject of the manuscript maps of Michigan and the Great Lakes. To most readers, chapter III. will perhaps appear to be of greatest importance and interest. In it the author discusses, in due chronological order, the significant maps of the Great Lakes area from the beginnings of French exploration of the St. Lawrence region to the work of Jedidiah Morse and Aaron Arrowsmith in the closing years of the eighteenth century. Herein are recited the labors and triumphs of the long succession of cartographers, chiefly of France and England, to whom the people of Europe were indebted for their knowledge of the geography of the American continent. There follows a list of the fundamental maps of the Great Lakes area, and one of maps of the United States and the Great Lakes area, 1804–1825. The remainder of the book, almost three hundred pages, is devoted to listing, under several chapter heads, the maps of Michigan from 1822 to 1880.

The story of Michigan's cartography presents many interesting aspects to the reader. Thus, we discover (p. 31) that although Sanson, the French geographer, showed all of the Great Lakes as early as 1650, the Dutch and English cartographers generally denied their existence to the end of

the century. Again, from 1636 on to the early nineteenth century, many mapmakers were addicted to the curious practice of presenting two quite different (and contradictory) delineations of the Great Lakes and the Michigan Peninsula. Again, Aaron Arrowsmith "the foremost cartographer of the world" in 1802 published a map, showing Lake Michigan and the Michigan Peninsula in distorted form, which continued to find reflection in maps of the region published long after the true facts were matters of common knowledge. "A metal plate is an enduring thing", observes Professor Karpinski, "and publishers often continued to use the [old] plate, rather than to go to the expense of having a new plate made."

The publication of this work, with its many reproductions of rare and valuable maps, is a boon to scholarship, and both the author and the institutions which shared in making possible his work deserve the hearty thanks of the historical profession. It is a matter of regret that a larger scale for reproducing the maps could not have been adopted, as also that the index does not match, in quality, the remainder of the book.

The Detroit Public Library. M. M. QUAIFE.

The Autobiography of a Chinese Historian, being the Preface to a Symposium on Ancient Chinese History (Ku Shih Pien). Translated and annotated by ARTHUR W. HUMMEL, Ph.D., Chief of the Division of Chinese Literature, Library of Congress. [Sinica Leidensia, edidit Institutum Sinologicum Lugduno-Batavum, vol. I.] (Leyden: E. J. Brill. 1931. Pp. xlii, 199. $4.00.)

THE present volume is the first considerable fruit of studies begun during fourteen years' residence in Shansi and Peking, and continued during the past four years in Washington. It throws a flood of light upon the traditional and revolutionary backgrounds of the new school of Chinese historical writing, upon its present aims and methods. Dr. Hummel has rendered good service to students of comparative historiography as well as to specialists on China, whether or not they read Chinese, by translating a document of conspicuous permanent value, and by illuminating it with a carefully organized introduction and painstaking notes on many otherwise obscure references.

The author of the autobiography, Mr. Ku Chieh-kang, whose name is inadvertently omitted from the title-page, is a professor of history at Yenching University outside Peking. Born in 1893, he has himself contributed largely to the new historiography and to its first, most iconoclastic, results. He has aimed to reveal to his readers not only the incidental circumstances of his changing physical environment, but more particularly the evolution of his intellectual powers, the genesis and development of

his own critical scholarship. His object in so doing is not so much egocentric as propagandist; he seeks to demonstrate, with liberal illustration, not only that he himself is justified in holding views which in the eyes of scholars of the conservative tradition are anathema, but that the methods which he has espoused are sound, fruitful, and worthy of emulation. He writes with a simplicity and candor rare in Western literature, never hesitating at self-praise nor at self-condemnation.

Dr. Hummel's introductory exposition and interpretation of the scholastic revolution which has resulted in various important activities besides a sweeping reappraisal of all early sources and the complete rewriting of China's ancient history, is lucid and comprehensive. Particularly valuable is the laconic enumeration of those critical scholars of earlier times whose conclusions were rejected or disregarded by their contemporaries but which have afforded a basis for fresh research in our day.

In accordance with the laudable insistence of the literary renaissance that even works of profound scholarship be written in clear and modern style, the autobiography is composed in "plain speech" which the translator has succeeded in rendering into smooth readable English in close adherence to the text. Unfortunately no correspondence with paging of the latter is indicated. Transcriptions from Chinese are remarkably free from error or inconsistency; and typographical mistakes are very few both in the text and among the Chinese characters supplied with gratifying liberality in the notes. The volume terminates with a good index and short table of corrigenda. Publication of Dr. Hummel's translation of the *Symposium* itself will be eagerly awaited.

Newtonville, Massachusetts. CHARLES S. GARDNER.

SHORTER NOTICES

The History of Science and the New Humanism. By George Sarton, Associate of the Carnegie Institution of Washington. [Colver Lectures delivered at Brown University, 1930.] (New York, Henry Holt and Company, 1931, pp. 178, $2.00.) The first essay in this unpretentious volume is a timely and valuable contribution to the critical literature of humanism. Its principal thesis is nothing more than a development to its logical conclusion of the obvious truth, enunciated in antiquity but disregarded in that modern humanistic tradition which perpetuates the superficial evaluations of the literary Renaissance, that "the proper study of mankind" should be focused upon that essential characteristic which distinguishes man from other animals: that is to say, upon his whole creative intellect which, not in one but in many ways—scientifically, ethically, and politically, as well

as artistically—has operated to construct his civilization. And since it is clear enough in retrospect that our only indubitable progress since ancient times has been in the improvement of knowledge or in the effects of this improvement upon morals, politics, and art, it follows that the basic humanistic study—even if it be not considered of greatest ultimate importance—is that of the growth of knowledge, which is, in fact, the history of science. The argument is conclusive; and will be the more readily accepted by the reader who realizes that it is presented not by a professional scientist but by a scholar whose interest in the humanities is as keen as, and perhaps even more keen than, his interest in pure science.

The second essay, entitled East and West, is historical; its evident purpose being to demonstrate the continuity of cultural progress from remote antiquity, and particularly to emphasize the debt which Western science and civilization owe to the Near East. The same warmth of feeling that gives force to the first essay here somewhat weakens its effect by certain exaggerations, or unqualified statements, which by their ambiguity imply exaggerations that not infrequently provoke dissent. These appear to be due to a conception of science which, though it is very commonly accepted by historians and scholars, is quite out of accord with that universally entertained by natural scientists, and which will seem to such men altogether too generously inclusive. The essay invites a careful discussion, since it illustrates what will appear to scientists to be a rather widespread misapprehension of the essential character of their labor and achievement; but such discussion would be beyond the scope of a brief review.

The third essay presents an educational scheme for the inculcation of that more liberal and more significantly rational humanism which the author advocates, by courses of instruction in the history of science. As to the desirability of considering some such practical plan there can be no doubt. For reasons suggested above, however, the distribution of emphasis favored by the author is not likely to be accepted by men of a more severely scientific temper.

Columbia University. FREDERICK BARRY.

Geographische Grundlagen der Geschichte. Von Hugo Hassinger, Professor an der Universität Freiburg im Breisgau. [Geschichte der Führenden Völker, herausgegeben von Heinrich Finke, Hermann Junker, Gustav Schnürer, Band 2.] (Freiburg im Breisgau, Herder and Company; St. Louis, B. Herder Book Company, 1931, pp. xiii, 331, $3.00.) This ambitious volume forms a geographical introduction to the series of monographs on the history of the chief peoples who have shared in the political and spiritual evolution of Europe, as well as others who have

risen from primitive conditions to join the universal empire of culture. Four or five volumes are promised each year and the completed series will furnish a perspective of universal history.

In a book of only 331 pages, of which some sixty-four are devoted to chapter bibliographies, the author, known for his contributions to the same field, has spread before his readers an extensive panorama. His goal has been to describe the theaters of the historical nations beginning with Egypt and Mesopotamia and ending with the great empires of to-day, with a final chapter giving a politico-geographical survey of all empires, ancient and modern, their extent, population, etc. To have filled adequately so large a canvas would have required many volumes, such as the recent one by Ellen Semple, our leading anthropogeographer, entitled *The Geography of the Mediterranean Region: its Relation to Ancient History* (New York, 1931).

Dr. Hassinger, therefore, has contented himself with attempting on broad lines to focus into a readable narrative the vast material of his subject, most of which is unavailable to the general reader. The theme, though as old as Herodotus, has never been systematically treated in German historical literature, where the facts of geography and history still have an external relationship in spite of the work of Ratzel and Richter. Thus Hassinger's investigations of the principles underlying the life of man in his surroundings with its orderly sequence, lucid style, bibliographies, and charts, will prove not only an aid to German historians, but also, despite its necessarily cursory treatment, a welcome study for historiography in general. A reading of his book will enlarge the reader's knowledge of a field which till recently has been only scantily cultivated.

The University of Pennsylvania. WALTER WOODBURN HYDE.

Sculptured Portraits of Greek Statesmen, with a Special Study of Alexander the Great. By Elmer G. Suhr, Ph.D., Professor of Greek and History of Art, Wagner College, Staten Island. [The Johns Hopkins University Studies in Archaeology, no. 13, edited by David M. Robinson.] (Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press, 1931, pp. xxi, 189, $4.50.) This book adds little to our knowledge, but will undoubtedly be useful as a catalogue of the works of sculpture which are, or have been, regarded as portraits of Greek statesmen, Alexander the Great, and Hellenistic rulers. Nearly half the space is devoted to portraits of Alexander. The views of previous writers are sometimes discussed at considerable length, but sometimes the opinions of well-known scholars are summarily rejected. The author cites Miss Richter's *Sculpture and Sculptors of the Greeks*, but has apparently no doubt that Leochares was the creator of the Ganymede in the Vatican (pp. 94, 107), and the labors of numerous scholars appear to have left

untouched his belief in Phidias as the artist of the sculptures of the Parthenon, or at least of the frieze (pp. xv, 15). Dr. Suhr's own opinions are, as a rule, sane, if not strikingly original, and he usually makes them clear, though not always. He seems to agree that the Azara herm is "a product of the school of Lysippus" (p. 86); he appears to consider it (*i.e.*, its original) as a work of Lysippus himself (pp. 87, 94, 131); he is doubtful (p. 69), and he tacitly agrees with "most authorities" in rejecting Lysippus as its author (p. 95). That a teacher of the classics treats the English language as Dr. Suhr does is a pity. Infelicitous, awkward, even obscure expressions abound, and grammatical solecisms are not wanting. A few examples chosen at random are: "different . . . than" (pp. 19, 90), "Theoros . . . whom Brunn believes is the same" (p. 174), "neither Schreiber nor Bernoulli have proved its authorship" (p. 101). Some of the illustrations leave much to be desired. There is a bibliography, but no index.

The Library of Congress. HAROLD N. FOWLER.

Alexandre le Grand. Par Georges Radet, Membre de l'Institut. (Paris, L'Artisan du Livre, 1931, pp. 446, 40 fr.) Radet's *Alexandre le Grand* is a thesis presented with French charm and eloquence. His main contention is that the real Alexander is the Alexander of what recent historians have regarded (erroneously, he affirms) as legend. Conscious from boyhood of his Aeacid and Heraclid descent, at the beginning of his career the Macedonian prince, for the mastery of whose soul Dionysos and Apollo combated always, came under the spell of Homer, and identified himself with Achilles. As he proceeded on his conquering way, he renewed the conviction of his godhood by the solution given him by Zeus-Ammon of the enigma of his birth, by his recognition as a divinity by the Babylonians, by his accession to the hallowed throne of the divinely designated Achaemenids, and by experiences at Tyre, Nysa, Carmania, and elsewhere which made evident to him and his soldiers that he was a new Heracles and a new Dionysos. The Alexander tradition represented by Clitarchus, Quintus Curtius, and Plutarch is drawn on freely, if not to prove, at least to illustrate, this conception; and, since Radet passes over Alexander's military achievements with the most cursory mention, Arrian appears most frequently to be chided for omitting something recorded in the variant tradition. This seems to me to be the negation of sound historical method.

No summary can do justice to the literary skill with which Radet recounts dramatic incidents and conjunctures, nor to the sweep of his historical outlook; and there is, of course, something in the point of view that Alexander took Achilles and Heracles as his models. But he did not direct his military movements by mythological itineraries or his substantial

policies by self-mystification. The Alexander who marched to the Granicus and Arbela is just as real as the Alexander who visited Troy and Siwah—and much more important. Caesar was pontifex maximus, but the pontifex maximus was not the Caesar who made history. Alexander worshiped Dionysos all too zealously, but the *comus* was not the medium in which he disclosed his greatness.

Harvard University. W. S. FERGUSON.

Studien zum Antiken Aemterwesen. Von Franz Leifer. Band I., *Zur Vorgeschichte des Römischen Führeramts* (*Grundlagen*). [Klio, Beiheft XXIII., Neue Folge, Heft X.] (Leipzig, Dieterich'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1931, pp. xviii, 328, 21.50 M.) The first section of Leifer's studies consists of a discussion of the chief magistrates of the early Roman Republic and a special investigation of the magistrates of Etruscan towns. Like other students of Roman constitutional history who have written since Mommsen, Leifer does not share the growing faith in the ancient tradition which one finds among most other scholars. Indeed, he rejects the tradition almost entirely and devotes a hundred and thirty pages to the theories of modern German scholars. It is something of a relief to turn back to Mommsen's second volume of the *Römisches Staatsrecht,* and read an account of the magistrates based on Cicero and Livy rather than on Kornemann and Rosenberg.

But in his section on Etruria, Leifer deals with documents—the obscure Etruscan inscriptions recording titles of magistrates which Rosenberg was the first to use. He prints fifty-two inscriptions and interprets them with caution and acumen. These records, which come chiefly from cities near Rome, show a government with two chief officers of unequal rank, who in their relationship to each other resemble not the two consuls at Rome but the *magister populi* (*dictator*) and the *magister equitum*. They seem, however, like the consuls, to have held office for a year. There was also another pair of officers whose functions were chiefly, but not entirely, priestly, who like the Roman priests apparently held office for life. Both groups, like the chief Roman magistrates and priests, were chosen from the patrician nobility of the cities. But Rosenberg's attempt to establish a definite *cursus honorum* in Etruscan offices is not supported by Leifer's results.

The material is undoubtedly of value for the history of Etruscan cities. How far it is significant for early Rome Leifer will discuss in a second section after considering the magistrates of the Oscan and Umbrian cities. But he makes it clear now that he thinks that the principle of collegiality which we find in the Roman consuls was not developed until

a much later date than is ordinarily supposed by those who have followed Mommsen and the ancient tradition.

Bryn Mawr College. LILY ROSS TAYLOR.

Taboo, Magic, Spirits: a Study of Primitive Elements in Roman Religion. By Eli Edward Burriss, Associate Professor of Classics in the Washington Square College of New York University. (New York, Macmillan Company, 1931, pp. x, 250, $2.00.) In recent years the primitive elements in Greek and Roman life have shared in the general increase of interest in manners, customs, and superstitions. Among the frequent contributors of articles in this field has been Professor Burriss, most of whose work has appeared in classical journals. His book on *Taboo, Magic, Spirits* enables him to present the results of several years' research. His chief purpose is to explain the motives for various beliefs and practices. In a review for the *Classical Journal* (XXVII. 454) I have expressed my confidence in the general soundness of the explanations advanced. Aside from the conclusions reached, the book is interesting because it takes one into another world of thought and feeling.

The scope of the book is clearly indicated by the titles of chapters: I., Mana, Magic and Animism; II., Positive and Negative Mana (Taboo); III., Miscellaneous Taboos; IV., Magic Acts: the General Principles; V., Removing Evils by Magic Acts; VI., Incantation and Prayer; VII., Naturalism and Animism.

The University of Michigan. EUGENE S. MCCARTNEY.

Religionsgeschichte Europas. Von Carl Clemen. Zweiter Band, *Die noch Bestehenden Religionen.* (Heidelberg, Carl Winters Universitätsbuchhandlung, 1931, pp. vi, 335, 10 M.) Professor Carl Clemen follows his account of pre-Christian religion in Europe (1926) with this volume on religions still existing, a volume which offers wealth of knowledge in a relatively brief form. The pampered reader may complain of the ensuing lack of fluent style but will be gratified by the interest and accuracy of the contents. Now that historical writing has come to differ from older patterns by the consideration of much relevant data formerly neglected, the classification of this work as *Kulturgeschichte* can promise no special novelty, and the claim to a distinctive method called *religionsgeschichtlich* rests chiefly on the inclusion of a history of piety and its expression in forms of worship.

Other features of the work, however, make it superior to older summaries. The compact epitome of Christian history which has the major space does not, like so many, fade away soon after Luther and Calvin reformed things, but excels by information concerning the most recent

developments in Catholic and Protestant forms, enabling us therefore to follow more intelligently the current of present events. In particular, American readers will be advantaged by learning how religious organizations in Europe have been affected by the World War in respect to reconstructions of polity, relation to the state, or the emergence of new groupings. As is natural this German author gives special prominence to German conditions. The same satisfaction is found in the sections dealing with Jewish, Mohammedan, and Buddhistic religion in Europe. Whoever has to confess a too fragmentary knowledge of post-Talmudic Judaism will understand the reviewer's debt to this unifying narrative, condensed as it is, with its record of Messianic movements, sects, Zionism, present day parties and phases. The gratification thus afforded to the inquiring mind is nevertheless mixed with horror as we read the recital of intolerable persecutions suffered by the Jews in Christian lands. It is a relief to turn then to the Mohammedan story, to read there of a more humane tolerance, of sustained zeal in personal piety and social ties, and also to find evidence of renewed vitality in present day Islam within certain groups, especially as this new spirit is here illustrated by remarkable quotations from the lately deceased Zijā Gök Alp.

Lowell, Massachusetts. F. A. Christie.

Harunu'l-Rashid and Charles the Great. By F. W. Buckler, M.A., Sometime Fellow of Trinity Hall and Allen Scholar in the University of Cambridge, Professor of Church History in the Graduate School of Theology, Oberlin College. [Monographs of the Mediaeval Academy of America, no. 2.] (Cambridge, Mediaeval Academy of America, 1931, pp. vii, 64, $2.25.) In his new book Buckler emphasizes the interesting view that we may find the explanation of the relations between Pepin the Short and Charles the Great on the one hand, and the Abbasids, al-Mansur and Harunu'l-Rashid on the other, by investigating the establishment of the Omayyads in Spain. The author's chief idea is that Charles in his relations with Harun had three possible aims: first, the regularization of his position as protector of the Abbasid interest in Spain and the western Mediterranean; secondly, an alliance with Harun, involving mutual coöperation, Charles against Spain and Harun against the Byzantine Empire; thirdly, freedom of access to the Holy Places and protection from either Moslem or Greek oppression, for pilgrims visiting Palestine, particularly Jerusalem.

On the basis of a rather debatable analysis of our scanty evidence, Buckler comes to the conclusion that Harun's triumphs exceeded those of Alexander the Great, for he was lord, not only of the Moslem world, including a large part of Spain, but also of the Roman Empire. The By-

zantine empress Irene had again acknowledged the tributary status of her empire, and Charles had accepted Harun's overlordship (p. 36).

Buckler is very well acquainted with his sources. Being an Orientalist, he uses not only Latin and Greek sources, but also Arabic. He makes use of the latter to describe the general situation in the Moslem East at the moment of the transfer of power from the Omayyads to the Abbasids, although they give no mention of the diplomatic intercourse between the Frankish monarchs and the caliphs of Baghdad.

To the references on page 8, notes 1 and 2, the author might have added A. Lombard, *Constantin V., Empereur des Romains* (Paris, 1902, p. 78). The first wife of Constantine VI. was not Theodote (p. 15) but Maria. Buckler might have made use here of the *Vita Philareti* (ed. A. Vasiliev, 1900). The date of the death of Harunu'l-Rashid was not 787 but 786 (p. 17). A debatable but interesting book!

The University of Wisconsin. A. Vasiliev.

Le Monde Musulman et Byzantin jusqu'aux Croisades. Par MM. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, Professeur à l'École des Langues Orientales, et Platonov, Membre de l'Académie des Sciences de Russie. Traduit du Russe. [*Histoire du Monde,* publiée sous la Direction de M. E. Cavaignac, tome VII[1].] (Paris, E. de Boccard, 1931, pp. 591, 50 fr.) This book forms a part of the seventh volume of the *History of the World,* which E. Cavaignac is publishing. Fundamentally speaking, it is a sketch of Islamic history and civilization in Western Asia and Northern Africa from *c.* 600 to the middle of the eleventh century, with a long appendix, translated from S. P. Platonov's well-known manual, on the early history of Russia. The Byzantine history forms but a thin mortar between the Mohammedan bricks, and is of no independent value. The really useful section of the book is the part concerned with Islam. The author of this section, Professor Gaudefroy-Demombynes, has sought to sketch for us, on the basis of the sources and of the more important secondary literature, a picture of Islam from Mohammed to the end of the Abbasid Caliphate. One is naturally tempted to compare it with the only other similar general sketch which has been attempted of recent years, that of the late Clément Huart (*Histoire des Arabes,* vol. I., Paris, 1912). The present work goes into much greater detail than Huart could. It deals with the governmental as well as the political aspects of Islam, and in particular devotes special attention to the internal history of the Abbasid state. Much has already been written on the early period of Islam and of the Omayyad dynasty, and here the author's work is in large measure based on that of his predecessors—Wellhausen, Lammens, and others; in dealing with the Abbasids he branches out into terra incognita, and gives much that is

unknown to non-Arabists and difficult of access. His disquisitions deal with all sides of Arab culture and hence are rather discursive and repetitious, and compare in this regard unfavorably with Huart's clear and logically arranged work. One misses a forceful and a cohesive account of the Arab conquests. The chapter devoted to it is a brief and unsatisfactory epitome (pp. 162–173), and the actual political history of Islam is clumsily knitted into the conflicting web of particularistic and revolutionary movements which rent the huge fabric of the dissolving caliphate. On the other hand the discussion of the institutions and the workings of the state are extremely valuable. The reviewer misses a more detailed evaluation of the economic development, which could easily have been done with the materials published by A. von Kremer on the budgets of the caliphates, and the colossal collections of facts gathered by P. Schwarz. Greater care with the proof reading would have excised many misprints and some irregularities of transcription. The lack of an index materially diminishes the usefulness of the book, even the table of contents is regrettably curt.

Harvard University. ROBERT P. BLAKE.

Das Geschichtswerk des Otto Morena und seiner Fortsetzer über die Taten Friedrichs I. in der Lombardei. Neu herausgegeben von Ferdinand Güterbock. [Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum, Nova Series, Tomus VII.] (Berlin, Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1930, pp. xlv, 244, 18 M.) Otto Morena, an active adherent of Barbarossa, began a work which vividly describes the great emperor's deeds in Lombardy from 1154 to 1168. Where Otto dropped the story (in 1160) his son, Acerbus, also a man prominent in the affairs of his day, took it up and carried it forward to some time in 1164. Thence a writer whose identity has not been ascertained but who may have written under Otto's eyes, brought the tale down into the year 1168. All three writers were laymen, and their striving for accuracy, particularization of events, and objectivity makes the work one of the chief sources for the years it covers.

Dealing with stirring events that were fraught with interest to men of Guelph as well as of Ghibelline political persuasion, this chronicle was many times produced in manuscript and printed. Jaffé brought out the first critical edition (1861–1863) for the *Monumenta* (*SS.* XVIII. 587 *seq.*). Although the genealogy of the manuscript versions seems relatively simple, their editing has presented considerable difficulty. There is question as to which of the main versions, that of Milan (*M*) or of Lodi (*L*), is the older and purer, and as to the value of several other secondary codices. [See Dr. Güterbock's discussions in *Archiv für Aeltere Deutsche Geschichtskunde,*

XLVIII. 116–147; XLIX. 126–149.] Jaffé fused the *L* with the *M* text without making it possible for his readers surely to distinguish one from the other. In this edition Dr. Güterbock prints in duly amended form the purer *L* text and below it, the more corrupt *M* version. He would thus enable his readers to judge for themselves and to check errors which he may have made.

A convenient addition is a Verzeichnis der Heiligenfeste. The glossary is brief and not without some errors in reference which are, however, easy to discover.

Pennsylvania State College. FRANCIS J. TSCHAN.

The Black Death and Men of Learning. By Anna Montgomery Campbell, Assistant Professor of History, New Jersey College for Women. [History of Science Publications, no. 1.] (New York, Columbia University Press, 1931, pp. xii, 210, $3.00.) This is the first volume published by the History of Science Society in its new series. It sets a high standard of accuracy and scholarship for the volumes to follow. Miss Campbell has done two things admirably. She has made available the contents of sixteen plague tractates written at the time of the Black Death, with brief sketches of their authors. And she has compiled impressive lists of those physicians, scientists, political thinkers, churchmen, and schoolmen who died from that plague or who may reasonably be supposed to have done so. A full bibliography is included at the back of the volume.

Considering the general excellence of the work, it is perhaps querulous on the part of the reviewer to regret that so large a portion of the book concerns itself with necrologies. Hope is aroused in the opening pages of the second chapter that part of the monograph at least will deal with the changes made by the Black Death on the mental fabric of the fourteenth century. An effort to do this is made in the last chapter and there are phrases scattered throughout the book which draw back the curtain an inch or so on human scenes of live interest to the student of intellectual history. But for the most part, Miss Campbell has permitted the importance of individual deaths to overshadow the sharp alterations made by the plague on the *Weltanschauung* of the period. For example, the following sentence is found on page 129: "A striking feature about the last half of the fourteenth century is the greater amount of lawlessness then prevalent, and the number of outbreaks, both popular and intellectual, against authority." What a vista is opened! Yet it is dismissed casually. In similar fashion, many illuminating suggestions are tossed to the reader while the roll of deaths piles up. This seems a pity. For with the wealth of information at her disposal and her evident competence, the author is probably better

fitted than most to weigh the effect of the plague on the men of learning of the fourteenth century.

Columbus, Ohio. HELEN ROBBINS BITTERMANN.

Amedeo VIII., 1383–1451. By Francesco Cognasso. Two volumes. (Turin, G. B. Paravia and Company, 1930, pp. vi, 274; vi, 232, 32 l.) Though not at all fictional, these volumes cultivate a style reminiscent of Feuchtwanger's *Ugly Duchess.* They are really a group of studies whose failure to fulfill accurately the title is tacitly acknowledged by the writer in the bibliographical notice at the end of volume II., where they are presented as a provisional assembling of material collected throughout twenty years. They are written with careful relation to the times and with the aid of a rank growth of genealogical trees. The style is adapted to the patriotic purpose of the *Collana Storica Sabauda.* Amedeo VIII., first Duke of Savoy, who united Savoy and Piedmont and gained the county of Geneva, was the fine flower of a family which went to seed after him and only recovered with Emanuele Filiberto. His times were those of the Great Schism, the Hundred Years' War, and the coming of the Turks into Europe. His contribution to the first was his acceptance of the papal tiara as Felix V., though he meant to terminate, not prolong, the Schism. As for the second, Cognasso exerts himself to show Amedeo's pacific activity between Burgundy, France, and England. He was closely tied both to Armagnacs and Burgundians; Bernard of Armagnac was his half-brother and Marie of Burgundy his wife. To the light-hearted crusade against the Turks which came to grief at Nicopolis, his illegitimate brother Umberto led a contingent of Savoyard knights, and remained in captivity until the defeat of Bayezid by Timur.

A principal source at the outset is evidently the treasury accounts of the House of Savoy, from which one learns that the young count gave his tutor ten florins to leave him free from lessons on St. John's day; that he helped himself from the treasury when he needed a stake for a quiet game with his playfellows; that the court pageants did credit to the standards of the *quattrocento.* All this is in keen contrast to the grim medievalism of the prolonged inquisition of the suspected culprits in the tragicomic death of his father, the Conte Rosso. Of the illustrations two are sixteenth century cuts of Pope Felix, which concur in showing that this last phase of his activity was the most disappointing.

The University of Idaho. FREDERIC C. CHURCH.

Louis XI. et l'Angleterre, 1461–1483. Par J. Calmette et G. Périnelle. [Mémoires et Documents publiés par la Société de l'École des Chartes, XI.]

(Paris, Auguste Picard, 1930, pp. xxxiv, 424, 80 fr.) When M. Périnelle became a Dominican the data which he had collected while at the French school at Rome and had used for a thesis at the École des Chartes was taken over by M. Calmette, who has long been recognized as an authority on the diplomatic history of the second half of the fifteenth century. The present volume is the result. It would be hard to imagine a more thorough piece of work, based as it is, not only on a large body of scholarly literature, but also upon extensive researches in the archives, local as well as central, of France, Spain, Italy, and England. A third of the book is devoted to an appendix of some eighty documents, of which those from the Milan archives are particularly interesting to students of English history. This study will be found to supplement Miss Scofield's work on Edward IV., approaching the subject from the opposite point of view, and fitting Anglo-French relations into their proper setting with respect to Louis's whole system of diplomacy. There is an interesting attempt to explain some of the political history with the theory that Louis was aiming to encourage Anglo-French commerce at the expense of the Flemings. An extensive bibliography and index will make the use of this volume by scholars easy.

Williams College. RICHARD A. NEWHALL.

Calendar of Deeds and Documents. Volume III., *The Hawarden Deeds.* Compiled by Francis Green. (Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, 1931, pp. 477.) Though the deeds are associated with the estate upon which Mr. Gladstone cut down so many trees, the statesman is mentioned only in his marriage settlement and in two supplementary documents. Nearly all of the documents are of earlier date. Fourteen belong to the period before 1500, 167 to the sixteenth century, 547 to the seventeenth, 957 to the eighteenth, and 229 to the nineteenth. They are mainly grants, leases, bonds, mortgages, records of pleas, and similar documents which deal with the possession and transfer of lands. The historian of the county of Flint will reap the richest harvest from them, though the historian of social and economic conditions may glean significant bits of information. More fruitful for the latter will be the numerous wills and marriage settlements. A few documents of the seventeenth century and several of the eighteenth touch upon more varied interests. Half a dozen written between 1734 and 1740 relate to a contested election in the borough of Flint. Mention of the "Company of Proprietors of the Undertaking for Recovering and Preserving the Navigation of the River Dee", of collieries, and of inclosure commissioners reminds us that an economic revolution was taking place.

For the purposes of historical research the documents, with a few exceptions, appear to be calendared adequately. Unfortunately the excep-

tions are frequently the rare documents which have a wider significance. The historian who might be interested in the election at Flint as illustrative of the parliamentary history of the period would still have to go to the original documents before he could determine the worth of some of them. The names of persons and places have been carefully preserved in their original forms. An excellent index which includes subjects as well as proper names adds much to the value of the volume.

Haverford College. W. E. LUNT.

Kerk en Staat in de Zuidelijke Nederlanden onder de Regeering der Aartshertogen Albrecht en Isabella, 1598–1621. Door H. J. Elias, Doctor in de Wijsbegeerte en Letteren, Doctor in de Rechten. [Université de Louvain, Recueil de Travaux publiés par les Membres des Conférences d'Histoire et de Philologie, deuxième série, no. 22.] (Antwerp, De Sikkel, 1931, pp. xl, 303, 85 fr.) This book is a good example of historical work which is now appearing in Flemish. It deals with the caesaropapism of the Archduke Albert and the Archduchess Isabella from 1598 to 1621. The period is especially important as in it was perfected the secular and ecclesiastical organization of the southern Low Countries or, as they are better known in the English speaking world, the Spanish Netherlands. The author describes at length the efforts, entirely bloodless after the execution of Anna Utenhove in 1597, to suppress Protestantism and witchcraft; the support which the state gave to the church as illustrated in such matters as the control over midwives, study at foreign universities, and censorship of popular dramatic performances. The government, successful in all these endeavors, failed, however, in securing liberty for Catholics in England and the United Provinces. Political and economic considerations often prevented the government's officials from proceeding against heretical strangers who came into the land, particularly in Antwerp. The state exerted a direct influence in appointing church officials, regulated higher and lower education, and, in general, laid a controlling hand on all manner of ecclesiastical institutions and functions. The archducal policy, however, did not permit a full acceptance of the decrees of the Council of Trent. Beyond the general requirement of suppression of heresy and the protection of Catholicism the government in Spain appears to have exerted little or no influence. The study is well supported at every turn by references to original documents and to articles of basic importance, and is preceded by an ample bibliography.

The University of Washington. HENRY S. LUCAS.

Die Europäische Ausbreitung über die Erde. Von Dr. Adolph Rein, Professor an der Universität Hamburg. [Museum der Weltgeschichte,

herausgegeben von Dr. Paul Herre.] (Wildpark-Potsdam, Akademische Verlagsgesellschaft Athenaion, 1931, pp. 406, 27 M.) Professor Rein, author of *Der Kampf Westeuropas um Nordamerika im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert,* has here written a comprehensive account of the expansion of Europe. The varied and up-to-date bibliographical structure is indicative of the care with which this synthesis was undertaken. American readers will note with interest Dr. Rein's dependence upon the works of Beer, Amandus Johnson, and Osgood, and his use of the more recent monographs of Goebel, Klingberg, Perkins, Robertson, and others. One of the Channing-Mathews maps appears in this volume.

A certain freshness of treatment arises from Rein's interest in the actual processes of expansion. Although the circumventions of princes and chancelleries are in no sense neglected, they are not the main points of departure. The interest lies rather in a broader theater: in Goa, in Mozambique, in Surinam, in Mexico. The discoverers and their voyages, the fruits of exploitation and trade, the rivalries in far-flung places; all these absorb the writer's and, be it said, the reader's attention.

Although this work is concerned with the general subject of expansion from earliest times to the present, by far the larger part is devoted to the period between the fifteenth and the nineteenth centuries. Here the author writes with an ease and precision becoming a thorough grasp of the materials. Dr. Rein also manifests a keen interest in the extension of geographical knowledge during ancient and medieval times. His discussions upon this theme are augmented by the introduction of rare cartographical reprints garnered from many sources. In passing it may be remarked that this volume, like the others in the series, is handsomely illustrated. The prints of harbors prominent in the earlier world trade are particularly attractive.

The obvious shortcoming of the work is the inadequate treatment of the relation of imperialism to the World War. How much space should be allotted this subject in a work of such a character is a matter of opinion, but the according of a scant half dozen pages to *Weltpolitik* makes a rather abrupt ending. The early chapters dealing with the large period before the age of discovery are not convincing. The author adopts a purely negative thesis; he is intent upon showing why the several ancient empires failed to achieve a world unity. Possibly the assimilation of a common culture by huge agglomerations of people within the bounds of empires like ancient China, India, Egypt, and so forth, is of greater importance in the history of man's approach to cultural unity than the Europeanizing of a great many portions of the globe.

Princeton University. J. E. Pomfret.

Strafford. By Lady Burghclere. Two volumes. (New York and London, Macmillan Company, 1931, pp. xvi, 348; 373, $10.00.) In her preparation of a new biography of Thomas Wentworth, first Earl of Strafford, Lady Burghclere has been very fortunate in securing access to the Wentworth family papers. This advantage, that previously had been denied others, has enabled her to print extracts from many letters exchanged between Strafford and Archbishop Laud and to show in a new light the great Deputy's personality. The remainder of the papers now at Wentworth Woodhouse, if one may judge from the excerpts quoted by Lady Burghclere, consist of those published in 1739 by Knowler and a few of minor and purely personal interest. Presumably Strafford's Notes upon the Articles of his Impeachment; his reply to the articles, which we now have only in Rushworth's abstract; Attorney Lane's notes for the defense and several other papers of public importance, all of which Knowler's catalogue mentions as being at Wentworth Woodhouse, are now lost. The Knowler papers at the Bodleian also contain Wentworth's own diary of the Parliament of 1621 which Lady Burghclere has failed to use.

Her failure to consult other accessible manuscript material seriously diminishes the value of her work. She has used none of the news-letters nor parliamentary diaries of Strafford's impeachment which are now in the British Museum, although those of John Moore, Denzil Holles, and Lord Robartes are there in addition to that of D'Ewes. Likewise, she has made no mention of the valuable material now in the library of the House of Lords and in the Public Record Office.

Lady Burghclere has used both Gardiner and O'Grady fully. Her conclusions follow theirs with few exceptions. Professor Wallace Notestein's *Journal of Sir Simonds D'Ewes* has been ascribed throughout to "Wallace". Although a full account is given (I. 125) of Wentworth's disapproval of the Dudley proposals in 1629 Lady Burghclere has failed to record that those proposals were twice printed (1647, 1710) as being Strafford's own. Rushworth's description (III. 1215) of Strafford's anger at the Yorkshire petition of July, 1640, although accepted by Lady Burghclere (II. 207), ought to be considered together with his reply to that petition, now in the Carte MSS., in which he binds himself to pay from his own purse all those who may lose by furnishing provisions to the royal army.

The two volumes are pleasantly written and interesting but their importance is primarily that of the material from Wentworth Woodhouse. The bibliography is poorly arranged. The omission from it of *A Brief and Perfect Relation of the Answers of Thomas, Earle of Strafford* (1647), which furnishes the best account of the trial from the royalist viewpoint, is unfortunate. There are excellent plates and a good index.

The University of Nebraska. GLENN W. GRAY.

William Prynne: a Study in Puritanism. By Ethyn Williams Kirby. (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1931, pp. 228, $2.50.) The name of William Prynne brings to mind clipped ears, floods of pamphlets, and parliamentary writs, together with a hazy picture of the man himself. Now, however, Mrs. Kirby's scholarly and able biography of this notorious pamphleteer drives away the mist and fills an historical gap which has been yawning ever since his death in 1669.

Wasting no words over the youth of her Puritan scribbler the author quickly brings him into conflict with the world. Before Prynne was admitted to the bar in 1628 he had already begun his pamphlet warfare against the foibles of society and the Arminianism of Charles I. and William Laud. The archbishop soon had him by the ears as well as in prison. It was not long, however, before Prynne took his revenge, when he played a leading part in bringing Laud to the block in 1645. In the meantime his pen had been busy supporting the parliamentary cause against the king. Here in his political philosophy he showed himself far ahead of his time by his thorough understanding of the position of king and Parliament in a truly limited monarchy. Unfortunately, Mrs. Kirby fails to disclose just what Prynne's attitude was toward Charles I. when Parliament went to war against its king. But she does demonstrate his firm Erastian beliefs when, first, he opposed the Presbyterian control of Parliament and church, and then, the rule of the Independents under Cromwell.

Always writing, in or out of prison, always attacking until he could whole-heartedly support the restoration of Charles II. or collect his beloved writs, Prynne is vividly pictured by the author under the title of "Puritan". What is the puritanism Mrs. Kirby has in mind? Using the word throughout her book she makes no attempt to define it until the very last pages, and then her definition is none too clear. In fact, she seems to give Prynne a fixed religious outlook which she describes by the constant use of a term whose meaning many a reader will feel was frequently changing during the first sixty years of the seventeenth century. Her pages are brought to a close with a short appendix, an index, and an excellent bibliography in which are to be found all the known writings of William Prynne.

New York University. HAROLD HULME.

King Charles II. By Arthur Bryant. (New York, Longmans, Green and Company, 1931, pp. xi, 448, $3.50.) Mr. Bryant has little to say about Whig historians in his study of Charles II. Nevertheless it is against them and all their evil works that his arguments are directed. He seeks to destroy their picture of Charles, the picture which Airy most gracefully presented, and to set in its place another more favorable to the subject.

There are many reasons why the Whig view should be considered faulty in our day. Its moralizing, its assumption that the opposition to the king was always right, its emphasis upon political and religious aspects of the reign to the exclusion of the economic and intellectual, all these are defects which it has contained within itself from the outset, and which have been magnified in recent years by publication of new manuscript material and many studies in Restoration history.

Mr. Bryant's chief limitation in this work is that while he is fully alive to the faults of the Whig view, and has made use of the new documents and monographs, he has not been able to improve upon the biased and controversial spirit in which the Whig historians wrote. For him Charles is a hero, wise, honest, and kind, and those who opposed the king are fools or blackguards. He meets the criticism that Charles sought his own comfort at the expense of his country's honor, and sought it with duplicity and incompetence, by talking of that "broad and inclusive policy in politics and religion to which his heart ever leant". To those who assail Charles's moral life, he answers that Charles took good care of his mistresses, and dearly loved his sister. And, when other arguments fail, Mr. Bryant denounces Charles's subjects as "factious". In brief, he is concerned to buttress Charles's reputation at those points where it has been most heavily attacked, and has done so with words as extravagant or irrelevant as those of his opponents.

This labor so completely holds the author's attention that he neglects to praise some of Charles's simpler qualities. For, while he is engaged in trying to attribute lofty policies to one who said he "would rather be a poor king than no king at all", he might have told us more of Charles's ability as a letter writer, or of his relation to the arts. Better still, he might have abandoned entirely the hopeless task of trying to prop up Charles on a pedestal and instead have let him stay at the common level of mankind, and there displayed his wit, wisdom, and good-fellowship. Had he done that, and had he been less concerned to contradict what others have said against Charles, he might have come nearer than he has done here to presenting a personal and coördinated view of the king's character.

In one respect, however, competition with the Whig historians has been to Mr. Bryant's advantage. It has set him the task of writing a lively, readable book, and of swelling the fund of good stories about Charles; and in these things he has succeeded.

Cornell University. FREDERICK GEORGE MARCHAM.

Calendar of State Papers and Manuscripts, relating to English Affairs, existing in the Archives and Collections of Venice, and in Other Libraries of Northern Italy. Edited by Allen B. Hinds, M.A. Volume XXXII.,

1659–1661. (London, H. M. Stationery Office, 1931, pp. lvi, 416, £1 10s.) The latest volume in the *Calendar of State Papers, Venetian,* moves forward at a livelier pace than its immediate predecessors. To account for this difference there is not only the rapidly changing scene of the period April, 1659–June, 1661, but also a contrast, as between period and period, in the readiness with which news became available. For while under Cromwell the government had gone about its business secretly, without attempt to curry popular favor, in the last months of the republic and the first of the restored monarchy the door between state affairs and public opinion was kept ajar, first by the factions who struggled for power, then by Charles, living openly and at his ease.

To Giavarina, Venetian Resident in England, substantial news came with less difficulty, and he who in the past had spent time complaining of his own poverty, or piecing together news brought from abroad, now found abundant material in the streets and drawing rooms of London. Thus he was able to write with accuracy upon such subjects as the negotiations between Parliament, Richard Cromwell, and the army leaders, or the many plans for marriage in which Charles became involved.

Here, as in previous volumes, the translation is marred by long, involved, and obscure sentences.

Cornell University. FREDERICK GEORGE MARCHAM.

Histoire des Colonies Françaises. Par Maurice Besson. Préface de M. Gaston Joseph, Directeur du Ministère des Colonies. (Paris, Boivin, 1931, pp. 402, 24 fr.) This outline covers French colonization and exploration from the pre-Columbian expeditions to the present world empire. Scarcely a military operation worthy of a captain's report is omitted. Trade and government of the colonies are mentioned, and considerable attention is paid to colonial sentiment and policies at home. Any book that covers so much territory in four hundred small pages must make the story very bald. Despite its compactness this narrative is remarkably clear; but it would be still clearer if some of the sixteen unimportant plates were replaced by maps, which are essential to an intelligent reading.

The unpardonable blemish of the volume is its unreliability. One suspects that haste to have the book off the press for the Colonial Exposition may be responsible. We are told that Guadeloupe fell to the English in 1762 (p. 139) instead of 1759; that after 1708 the English held Madras and Pondicherry in India (p. 287); that Champlain was menaced by English colonists from Pennsylvania (p. 40); that there were 2500 Frenchmen in Canada in 1610 (p. 72); that Count Benyoski fled after the Polish insurrection of 1669 and arrived in Madagascar in 1774 (p. 142); and that the convention of 1897 [1843] regarding Tahiti was not abrogated until

1887 (p. 237). Section III. has two chapters numbered II. and no chapter V., though the table of contents shows the normal numbering. Such errors are so frequent that they seriously impair the utility of the volume.

A bias of French patriotism is occasionally evident. The English suppressed the slave trade "in secret hopes of ruining our colonies" (p. 216); and in Morocco "Berlin sought 'l'incident grave' from which a war could arise" (p. 290). It is regrettable that such a handy summary should be so marred with errors.

Western Reserve University. CLARENCE P. GOULD.

La Fronde: une Révolution Manquée. Par Louis Madelin, de l'Académie Française. [Conférences prononcées à la Société des Conférences en 1931.] (Paris, Plon, 1931, pp. 350.) Between 1789 and 1791, the French Revolution, according to the author of this volume, overcame all obstacles because its exponents were moved by a noble purpose which made it invincible. The Fronde, on the other hand, was a failure. It was a monstrous intrigue, planned by the enemies of Richelieu after his death. Its aim was the destruction of the strong government established by the able cardinal. This achieved, the various elements responsible for the Fronde intended to regain certain privileges, and to enjoy substantial rewards. At no time did they contemplate general reforms, designed to better conditions in France.

In support of this thesis, the author first pays tribute to Richelieu's administration. Then he describes the breakdown of the central government after the death of the cardinal. He shows exceedingly well the rule of the "indulgent regency", the unpopularity of Cardinal Mazarin, the selfish ambitions of the nobles of the robe, and the intrigues of various individuals who planned to profit as a result of this uprising.

Finally, the author describes the Fronde, explains its failure, and emphasizes its results. In his opinion it threw France back to the days of the religious wars. The various agencies of government were weakened, economic losses were tremendous, and the moral decadence, "which usually accompanies all civil wars" was present. M. Madelin also implies that the Revolution of 1789 was caused in part by the "excess of monarchical power" during the administration of Louis XIV. This emphasis upon royal authority in turn was due to the excesses of the Fronde of 1648. The reviewer, however, believes that the Thirty Years' War was largely responsible for some of the changes which the author attributes to the Fronde.

The volume is well written, exceedingly interesting, and seems to be accurate. But it is difficult to dwell upon the scholarly side. The book lacks a preface, citations, a bibliography, and an index.

The University of California. FRANKLIN C. PALM.

Voyages en France en 1787, 1788, et 1789. Par Arthur Young. Première Traduction Complète et Critique par Henri Sée, Professeur Honoraire à l'Université de Rennes, Correspondant de l'Académie d'Agriculture. Trois tomes. [Les Classiques de la Révolution Française, publiées sous la Direction de M. Albert Mathiez.] (Paris, Armand Colin, 1931, pp. v, 495; 499–953; 955–1283, 160 fr.) With the publication of these volumes it becomes true that the most serviceable edition of Arthur Young's *Travels in France* is found in a French translation. There are two reasons. Of the three modern English editions (Miss Betham-Edwards, 1889; Mr. Thomas Okey in Everyman's Library, 1915; and Miss Constantia Maxwell, 1929) none reproduces the complete work. The Betham-Edwards and Okey editions omit all of part II. of the first edition except chapter XXII. on the French Revolution, and Miss Maxwell prints only selections from part II. and from the chapters added in 1794 for the second edition. Professor Sée has translated the whole, including the notes omitted for economy's sake in the edition of 1792. These notes, it should be recalled, were made by Young as he journeyed from place to place, recording prices, wages, methods of cultivation, the state of trade, etc. In Sée's translation of chapter XX., on manufactures, they amount to twenty-six pages. Because much of this information can not now be duplicated Professor Sée regards the edition of 1794 as the more valuable of the two.

A second reason for the unique value of this French edition is the spirit in which Professor Sée undertook the task of annotation. He looked upon the examination of Young's testimony as a good test of the extent to which modern research has actually come to comprehend the economic conditions of eighteenth century France. His footnotes draw upon the whole modern literature of the subject.

In his introduction Professor Sée comments upon Young's qualities as an observer. He remarks that when one compares his book with those of other travelers, Dr. Rigby or the Russian Karamzine, for example, one is astonished at Young's superiority. Young was, however, in Professor Sée's opinion, not free from prejudices. He was interested primarily in increasing production rather than in promoting social betterment. This accounts for his preference for agricultural laborers over small farmers. Professor Sée also thinks that while Young was a close and suggestive observer of the French Revolution, which was well developed before his third journey ended, his testimony was weakened by an excessive regard for the rights of property.

This new edition will also be useful to French scholars. They have commonly utilized the translation made by Lesage in 1859, which ignored the additions made in the edition of 1794. Moreover, as a translation it

was not, in Professor Sée's judgment, so good as that made during the Revolution by F. Soulès and published in 1793.

B.

England, Russia, and the Straits Question, 1844–1856. By Vernon John Puryear, Ph.D. [University of California Publications in History, volume XX.] (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1931, pp. xvi, 481, $4.00.) In this work Dr. Puryear has undertaken to trace not only the history of the Straits Question from 1844 to 1856 but also, more or less comprehensively, Anglo-Russian diplomatic and commercial relations throughout the period from 1829 to the Crimean War. He has been remarkably industrious in amassing significant material from Russian, German, French, and English sources and special studies. Furthermore, he has uncovered a considerable amount of new material, mainly from the British Public Record Office, which throws fresh light upon such important questions as the "fleet episode" of 1849, Anglo-Russian coöperation in the Eastern Question in 1852–1853, the French threat to invade Belgium in 1853, the aggressive rôle of Stratford Canning at Constantinople in 1853, negotiations of 1854–1855 about the Straits Question and the limitation of Russian power in the Black Sea area, and the discussions at the Paris peace conference of 1856 on the Euxine and Straits questions.

Although Dr. Puryear's work is one of real value it has some very serious weaknesses and must be used with caution. His treatment of the background of the Straits Question, 1829–1849, is sketchy and quite inadequate. Also his account of what he terms the "agreement of 1844" is gravely open to objection (*cf.* especially chapters I. and IV.). Indeed, it may be ventured that the writer in an uncritical acceptance of a thesis of the Russian scholar Goriainov has gone far beyond what is warranted in support of the view that an Anglo-Russian "agreement as arranged verbally in June 1844 was comprehensive enough to amount to an alliance on a world basis", that "England obligated herself in conjunction with Russia and Austria to exclude France in an eventual partition of Turkey", and that throughout the nine years from 1844 to 1853 "the alliance for [British] coöperation with Russia in all Turkish affairs remained intact" (pp. 53, 139). The writer devotes almost fifty pages to the background of the so-called "agreement" but he practically ignores negotiations of 1840–1841 in which the Russian statesmen were officially informed that it "would scarcely be consistent with the spirit of the British Constitution" for Great Britain "to enter into a binding engagement" without bringing the matter to the attention of Parliament. Regardless of what the czar, Nesselrode, and Brunnow may have believed, or pretended to believe because it was

good policy to do so, it is obvious that no "complete agreement", "fundamental agreement", or "obligation" between Great Britain and Russia was "undertaken" in the "conversations" of 1844 (pp. 47, 51–52, 52 n., 147–148, 192, 257). Even the "ministerial letters" which Dr. Puryear cites to clinch his arguments prove something quite different from what he assumes (pp. 443–444). Likewise, his assessment of immediate responsibility for the Crimean War as resting "largely" upon Canning must be received with caution. The writer reveals the weakness of Lane-Poole's partisan account but unfortunately presents a story which also is biased (pp. 256 ff.). It is lamentable certainly that a study embodying such extensive research should be so seriously marred.

The University of Illinois. F. S. Rodkey.

Lords versus Commons: a Century of Conflict and Compromise, 1830–1930. By Emily Allyn, Ph.D., Assistant Professor of History, Wilson College. [Publications of the American Historical Association.] (New York, Century Company, 1931, pp. ix, 266, $2.50.) With a wealth of details, Dr. Allyn tells the story of numerous rear guard actions. Stubbornly the House of Lords has striven to maintain the privileges of its own class and those of the Established Church and to stem the tide of democracy. In particular, concessions to Ireland were always opposed by the Upper House. The deadlocks that arose, or threatened to arise, over the Paper Duty Repeal Bill, 1860, the Irish Church Bill, 1869, and the Reform Bill of 1884 are fully and well described. But, as might be expected, the emphasis is on the crises of 1832 and 1909–1911. For nearly eighty years the many clashes between the two houses had not substantially changed their relative position, but in an evil hour rash counsel prevailed and the Lords threw out the budget of 1909. More myopic than usual, it escaped their notice that with the advent of labor in politics a new force had arisen which shared with the Irish the feeling that the Lords must be curbed.

The surprising thing is that this "curbing" of the Lords did not come before 1911. For this the material presented by Dr. Allyn supplies an explanation. The many "conflicts" were really not between the two houses as such but between the more progressive element in the House of Commons and the strong reactionary majority in the House of Lords. Whenever the latter threw out a government measure, they were applauded by a powerful faction in the Lower House and in England. The spirit of feudalism has had, indeed it still has, a strong grip on the English people—witness the power wielded even to-day by the Earl of Derby in Lancashire.

Dr. Allyn sketches the various plans for "mending" the Lords both before and after the crisis of 1911, and she throws a good deal of light

on the English constitutional development during the last hundred years and on the character of English statesmanship. Lord Salisbury comes off rather badly in this historical retrospect, and Edward VII. was singularly ineffective as a mediator between the two houses.

Dr. Allyn has performed carefully a useful piece of work. In the light of her story, it is clear that by some of their more recent actions the Lords are simply faithful to the traditions of their class and house. They are as incapable of learning as of forgetting.

The University of Wisconsin. PAUL KNAPLUND.

The Making of Roumania: a Study of an International Problem, 1856–1866. By T. W. Riker, B.Litt., Oxon, Professor of Modern European History in the University of Texas. (Oxford, University Press; New York, Oxford University Press, 1931, pp. viii, 592, $7.00.) Professor Riker's Third Empire studies led him into the neglected story of the Danubian Provinces and the Protecting Powers; this solid, scholarly, and well documented book is the result—by far the best treatment in English. Circumstances prevented his exploiting Roumanian sources; this lack is now partly supplied by *Victor Place et la Politique Française en Roumanie,* by Professor Marcel Émerit of Lille, a former fellow in the French Institut de Hautes Études in Bucharest (like Professor Paul Henry, whose *L'Abdication du Prince Cuza* appeared just in time for a brief note by Professor Riker), and the still more recent work in Roumanian by R. V. Bossy, *The Roumanian Diplomatic Agency in Paris, and the French-Roumanian Political Bonds,* published by the Fundatziunea Regele Ferdinand I. in Bucharest. This last brings to light documents illuminating not merely the career of Prince Cuza but also the services of Negri and the neglected Baligot de Beyne.

From these studies, Cuza emerges a much more imposing figure. The merit of creating Roumania belongs primarily to him. He met his difficulties with tact and determination. Professor Riker well brings out his devotion to Napoleon III., and the amiable and modest sides of his character. Few dictators in history have shown such patriotic willingness to efface themselves as did Cuza when he abdicated in favor of a foreign prince. Professor Riker is excellent also in his description of Charles of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen, and we augur well for the further study of Carol I. which he promises. He shows a certain Western prejudice against "Orientals" and "Balkan" peoples, but appreciates (as do few) the gentle, sensible nature of the Roumanians, who have never known a Sicilian Vespers, an Eve of St. Bartholomew, an Inquisition, a pogrom, or expulsion of the Jews, or a political murder in high station.

The book is not easy reading. We hope Professor Riker will simplify

his style, avoid French words and phrases, Anglicisms like "averse from", and colloquialisms like "that far", "question of whether", "doubted of", etc. But these are minor blemishes in a work of profound learning and research; it remains, as Professor Iorga said on November 27 in the Roumanian Academy, "proof of a rare understanding of the past and the aspirations of our people".

North Hatley, Quebec. CHARLES UPSON CLARK.

European Alliances and Alignments, 1871–1890. By William L. Langer, Harvard University. [International Relations.] (New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1931, pp. xiii, 509, xiv, $5.00.) A history of international relations in this period turns inevitably upon the author's judgment of Bismarck's foreign policy. Professor Langer's is what may be called the orthodox interpretation, namely, that it was a masterly policy which served the preservation of peace in the most practical and salutary fashion possible under the circumstances. This is doubtless the safest view, and it is maintained with restraint in the earlier chapters; but the tone of admiration mounts in the later ones to a panegyric inviting challenge. It is true that in the year 1887 grave threats of war were dispelled. But is it not also true that Bismarck himself helped bring about these threats, which arose out of the settlement he had made in 1871, his responsibility for which is admitted without attempting to shift it to the emperor and the generals? And could the network of inconsistent agreements by which he achieved his ends—well represented in a diagram showing sixteen crisscrossing lines of connection between different national capitals—be considered a promising arrangement for the future? The exclusion of Paris from that system is the outstanding ominous fact; the other weakness is expressed in the admission that the Mediterranean coalition sponsored by Bismarck "made Russian action in the East almost impossible". Expatiation on the significance and consequences of these features of the situation is unnecessary.

These and other comments of similar nature which might be made are matters of point of view, differences in which may never be resolved, and can not obscure the brilliance of Professor Langer's achievement. He has reduced to order a mass of material old and new which, as he aptly remarks, is "rapidly becoming too great for one human mind to grasp", facilitating reference to it in an exhaustive set of footnotes and bibliographies. He has constructed a narrative which threads its way through all significant ramifications of the maze of diplomatic intrigue without becoming wearisome or bewildering. His analyses of situations and of the factors influencing the policies of governments are penetrating and illuminating. His estimates of motives and his conclusions as to results are ably sustained, even though they have not always convinced this particular

reviewer. Altogether the book presents the most adequate and accurate survey yet available of a period, acquaintance with which is indispensable to an understanding of the march of events which led up to the catastrophe of 1914.

Washington, D. C. J. V. FULLER.

Henri V. Par Pierre de Luz. (Paris, Plon, 1931, pp. ix, 478, 36 fr.) It has been said that the French people, with all their irreverence, are richer, perhaps, than any other nation in that martyr spirit, a readiness to die for lost causes. M. de Luz fights gallantly again the battles of the lost cause of the Legitimists, particularly those fought after the establishment of the Second Republic and in 1873. The biographical element is present, though strictly subordinate. During the long years of exile Henri was, above all, a symbol, the representative of a glorious tradition and the Fils Aîné de l'Église.

As an ardent partisan the author wishes to make clear and defend the lofty, and, to all but the most devoted followers, impossible politics of his hero, to expound his doctrines, and explain his relations to his own supporters, among whom there were usually two opposing groups, and to his cousins the Orleanists in or out of power. The plan of "fusion", always in the background after the fall of Louis Philippe and very much in the foreground in the critical years 1849–1851 and 1871–1873, is discussed in detail; as are the Comte de Chambord's ideas on the temporal power of the Church and its status in France.

A Legitimist restoration had its best chance in 1849, M. de Luz believes, and this is a contribution which the volume makes to the study of royalist hopes. That opportunity was lost through the opposition of Thiers, Henri's implacable enemy for fifty years, in combination with the Duchesse d'Orléans, mother of the Comte de Paris, Leopold I. of Belgium, and Palmerston. Perhaps—but important papers of Thiers have either been destroyed or are still inaccessible.

The more familiar story of the offer of the throne in 1873 and of the refusal to accept the tricolor flag is told at length, to be dismissed sadly with the explanation that it was not the question of the flag, but the doubt of the success of a restoration, not of a success for six months, but of lasting restoration of the traditional monarchy "avec sa force et sa souplesse, son autorité et ses libertés", no doubt also the to him inexplicable defection of Marshal MacMahon, which caused Henri to return to exile from Versailles in November.

The whole account is based on material in print, the correspondence and papers of Henri and of others, on memoirs and newspapers. Unpublished memoirs of Albert, Duc de Broglie, and the memoranda of M. Raoul

Duval and M. de Sainte-Suzanne, a confidant of the Comte de Chambord, utilized by Hanotaux in the 1926 French edition, volumes III. and IV., of *La France Contemporaine,* seem not to have been consulted.

Princeton University. HENRY R. SHIPMAN.

Fustel de Coulanges, 1830–1889. Par J. M. Tourneur-Aumont, Professeur d'Histoire Générale à l'Université de Poitiers. Préface de Charles Seignobos, Professeur de Méthode Historique à la Sorbonne. (Paris, Boivin, 1931, pp. xii, 225, 15 fr.) A great scholar, like a great prophet, sometimes is without honor in his own country until long after his death. No French historian of the nineteenth century during his lifetime was more assailed for his ideas than Fustel de Coulanges (1830–1889)—the differences between him and the late Gabriel Monod amounted almost to a feud—and lapse of time has perhaps vindicated no scholar of the nineteenth century so much. To-day Fustel has come into his own. When he died his devoted disciple Paul Guiraud wrote a small volume in tribute to him, and later M. Camille Jullian, in that precious volume of *Extraits des Historiens Français du XIX^e^ Siècle* (1897) sympathetically appraised his ideas. Yet the student of historiography, if he will go back and examine the journals of the 1890's will find little said in praise of Fustel. The so-called "German School" of medieval institutional history then held the field. But time's revenges are usually just vindications and at last this noble and lonely scholar has come into his own. The swing back to Fustel de Coulanges and his interpretations is an interesting phenomenon of twentieth century historiography. In this work M. Tourneur-Aumont has made a critical and analytic study of Fustel's ruling ideas, and the intellectual power and intense love of historical truth of the man are here made manifest. Fustel, both in the spirit of his mind and in his style, was a Cartesian, which explains his remarkable critical attitude of mind toward evidence and the form of his exposition. No historian of the nineteenth century is so valuable to study for historical method, and fortunately for his readers he always takes them into the workshop of his mind. A manual of historical method and criticism might be compiled from his penetrating and pregnant observations with reference to analysis, interpretation, synthesis. Professor Charles Seignobos, himself a student of Fustel de Coulanges, has written a foreword in which he points out the two fundamental reasons why Fustel was unpopular, *viz.,* his exemption from romanticism and his lack of sympathy with the social, democratic tendencies of his time. This is a book which every one who is interested in nineteenth century historical thought should possess.

J. W. T.

Studies in Modern History. By G. P. Gooch, D.Litt., F.B.A. (New York, Longmans, Green and Company, 1931, pp. vi, 384, $3.00.) Almost a third of this volume of historical essays and reprinted periodical articles is taken up by a study of Baron Friedrich von Holstein, the power behind the scenes in the German foreign office during the first part of the reign of Wilhelm II. Perhaps no other official was at once so hated and so indispensable. His superiors called him a hyena, a corsair, a mole, a madman, the "monster of the labyrinth", but it never seemed to occur to the strongest of them that a specialist with such encyclopedic knowledge of the undercurrents of international politics could be dismissed. Before his own fall he had bedeviled and perplexed the careers of almost every statesman of the Fatherland. A few virtues he had, a surly independence which distinguished him from the fawning spaniels of the court, a tough devotion to what he considered the true interests of Germany, a dull fidelity to the routine of office duty. But he was morbid and misanthropic to the verge of melancholia, he despised all men and all nations, and he was constitutionally incapable of open dealing. If anyone wishes to see distilled in its poisonous purity the spirit of the old secret diplomacy from Louis XI. to Metternich it is all summed up in the career of Holstein. It was almost worth a World War to get rid of the Holstein type, the men who could say in all seriousness "Arbitration is all right for small states and small questions, not for large states and large questions" (p. 62).

In fact, Holstein himself was one of the main authors of the World War because more than any other man he prevented an Anglo-German entente. Dr. Gooch, however, makes it very plain that Holstein was no Anglophobe (p. 63). He did not hate England, except in the general sense that he scorned the whole human race. He merely wished Germany to be coy so that England would pay a higher price for German friendship. He declared with blind dogmatism that any understanding between England on the one hand and France or Russia on the other was impossible, and his superiors, feeling that "Holstein ought to know", merely accepted his policy as their own. The diplomatic documents of *Die Grosse Politik* are the main basis for this monumental study, but Dr. Gooch has also used with discretion the memoirs of various statesmen, particularly Von Bülow.

The other essays in the book are of much slighter character: a convenient study in the historiography of the French Revolution; an essay on the political views of Goethe; studies on the German response to the French Revolutionary ideas, on the German theory of state, on the present views of Bismarck's historic significance, on post-war German historical writing, on the Cambridge Chair of Modern History, on current study of foreign relations, and on the history of the historical novel. These are brief and

therefore inevitably incomplete, but so far as they go they are models of all that the popular historical essay should be. Amusingly enough, one of the author's few errors is a misprint of the title of a book of his own; *Germany and the German Revolution* should of course be *Germany and the French Revolution* (p. 148).

The University of Michigan. PRESTON SLOSSON.

Verkehrswesen im Kriege: die Oesterreichischen Eisenbahnen. Von Sektionschef Ing. Bruno Enderes, *Militärische Verkehrsprobleme Oesterreich-Ungarns: Eisenbahn- und Schiffahrtswesen;* von General d. R. Ing. Emil Ratzenhofer, *Telegraphen- und Postwesen;* von Oberst d. R. Paul Höger. [Wirtschafts- und Sozialgeschichte des Weltkrieges, Oesterreichische und Ungarische Serie, Professor Dr. James T. Shotwell, Generalschriftleiter.] (Vienna, Hölder-Pichler-Tempsky A.-G.; New Haven, Yale University Press, 1931, pp. xvii, 224.)

La France et la Politique Économique Interalliée. Par Étienne Clémentel, ancien Ministre du Commerce, de l'Agriculture, des Colonies, et des Finances, Sénateur, Président de la Commission des Finances du Sénat. [Histoire Économique et Sociale de la Guerre Mondiale, Série Française, Directeur, James T. Shotwell.] (Paris, Presses Universitaires de France; New Haven, Yale University Press, 1931, pp. xxii, 376, 44 fr.) The first of these volumes records the vicissitudes of Austria-Hungary's transportation and communications service during the World War. Except for local variations the story is much the same as that told for Germany in previous volumes of this series and will appeal to military and economic historians rather than to general readers.

M. Clémentel's book is in a different category. Its theme is the difficult and delicate war negotiations between the Allies, and later between the Allies and America, over trade relations, the allotment of ocean tonnage, and the purchase and distribution of essential imports. The author, who was a principal party to these arrangements, presents his facts with a dramatic touch. Crisis succeeded crisis so rapidly in the negotiations, and they trended so consistently toward an inevitable though obstinately procrastinated solution, that something resembling a plot runs through the narrative. Moreover it contains premonitions of problems that continue to plague the world to-day.

Not until shadowed by appalling imminence of defeat did the Allies—and then reluctantly—reconcile themselves to subordinating national freedom of action to international restraint. As one reads the account of their repeated rebellions against this necessity, he realizes why the American government, whose leaders had never gone through similar travail and who knew the problems of international coöperation only academically

and through transatlantic examples, should have been the first to terminate that relationship and later should have stood aloof from the League. "Il a fallu la guerre moderne poursuivie à la fois sur terre, sur mer et dans l'air, il a fallu les terribles menaces que son issue faisait planer sur l'Europe pour que de grands pays consentissent à aliéner leur autonomie au bénéfice de la cause commune."

Yet some of the lessons of these years of trial were forgotten almost before the smoke of battle thinned. For example, early in 1917 M. de Floreau, speaking for the French embassy in London, enunciated a principle when pleading against Britain's restrictions on luxury imports from his country, to which the Allies and their "Associated Power" have given scant regard in these later days of peace. "Nous serons après la guerre débiteurs du Gouvernement britannique pour plusieurs milliards que nous ne pourrons lui payer qu'en marchandises. Il y a donc intérêt à faciliter nos importations en Angleterre pendant la période de remboursement."

The Library of Congress. VICTOR S. CLARK.

Hidden Springs of the Russian Revolution: Personal Memoirs of Katerina Breshkovskaia. Edited by Lincoln Hutchinson. (Stanford University, University Press, 1931, pp. xxi, 369, $5.00.) Katerina Breshkovskaia, the "grandmother of the Russian Revolution", wrote the memoirs of her experiences for the years from 1873 to 1881 in 1917 and finished the period from 1881 to 1918 in 1922. Evidently both parts were written without reference to exact materials and therefore largely from memory. As a consequence the work is less useful for the historian seeking a careful day to day or year to year record. On the other hand, those who seek a first-hand explanation of the ideals, motives, and disappointments of the Narodniki and an interpretation of the course and development of the Russian revolutionary movement from the Great Reforms of Alexander II. to the seizure of power by the Bolsheviks will find materials of first-rate importance. It is entirely likely, then, that the latter part of the volume will prove to have the greater historical value as it represents the matured judgment of one of the chief actors in the course of events.

Just as Kerensky, in his preface, points out that Breshkovskaia and her friends chose "a utopian vision in place of a historically feasible, rational program of state reforms adapted to the level of Russia's economic and political development", so Breshkovskaia is certain that the Bolsheviks, in following the Nechaev-Lenin course, have departed from the "historically feasible" development. With characteristic faith she concludes that the Russian people will "sober down from their revolutionary madness" and "once more be able to work hand in hand . . . in rebuilding a land of freedom, honor, and true fraternity".

The University of California. ROBERT J. KERNER.

A History of Colonial America. By Oliver Perry Chitwood, Ph.D., LL.D., Professor of History, West Virginia University. (New York, Harper and Brothers, 1931, pp. xiii, 811, $3.75.) In *A History of Colonial America,* Dr. Chitwood has given to the public a delightfully written, well proportioned, and scholarly account of the development of the thirteen British colonies in North America. He has had the courage, in preparing this volume for college students, to repudiate one of the established canons of textbook writers in that he has provided the eager collegian with abundant and illuminating footnotes. Other student aids are not lacking: not only are carefully selected reading lists supplied for each chapter but at the end of the volume are to be found extensive bibliographical notes with discriminating comment on many of the works there cited. The book falls into three distinct parts under the headings: "The Origin and Development of the Colonies"; "Economic and Social Life"; and "Separation from the Empire". The first part, in addition to chapters that deal with the progress of settlement in the individual colonies, contains others, as in the case of the chapters on government and law and the old West, that cut across colonial boundaries and are concerned with general or regional aspects of American life; the second part is devoted to a very broad treatment of such topics as the population, the land, industry, trade, imperial supervision, religion, the intellectual life, and manners and customs; while the third part gives within the compass of a hundred pages the story of the disruption of the old British Empire.

With no purpose in mind of disparaging either the valuable contribution by Dr. Chitwood now under review or the efforts of others who have kindly provided the harassed teacher with aids in the field of American colonial history, the question may nevertheless be raised, How satisfactory can any college textbook be, if one has in mind an effective orientation of the student, that is concerned with but a section of a great empire as was that of Great Britain in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries? To save the student from distorted ideas must not the history of that empire be treated as a unit and studied as a unit until the separation as the result of the American War for Independence? Indeed, one may prophesy that the time is not far removed when most teachers of American colonial history will demand books for their classes that provide this broader outlook.

A few statements of the author might be called into question, but space does not permit.

Lehigh University. LAWRENCE H. GIPSON.

Sunlight on the Southside: Lists of Tithes, Lunenburg County, Virginia, 1748–1783. With an Introduction by Landon C. Bell, Ph.B., M.A., LL.B. (Philadelphia, George S. Ferguson, 1931, pp. 503.) Both historians and

genealogists will welcome these lists of persons taxable in Lunenburg County, Virginia, in a volume which supplements, in a sense, the editor's previous works, *The Old Free State* [Lunenburg County] (1930), and *Cumberland Parish* (1930). If the publication of these original documents needs justification, it will be found in the importance of Southside Virginia as "the cradle of southwestern and westward expansion" (p. 30) and in the priceless value of any eighteenth century manuscripts which are in the nature of population records, especially since the first and second Federal census records of Virginia were destroyed.

The lists of extant tithes for the years 1748–1751, when Lunenburg embraced the area from Brunswick County west to the Blue Ridge between the James River and the North Carolina line, are given in full; likewise all available lists for 1772–1776 and for 1783 are printed because of the importance of the Revolutionary period. To avoid great duplication of names, only the lists for 1752, 1764, and 1769 are reproduced for the period 1752–1769. This abridgment necessitated by economies of publication, as well as the omission of the names of slaves from all lists, is to be regretted. The volume includes an historical introduction, a map of old Lunenburg County in 1746 showing the precincts designated for the listing of tithables, and a thorough index.

The University of Virginia. LESTER J. CAPPON.

Kulturgeschichtliche Grundlagen der Amerikanischen Revolution. Von Käthe Spiegel. [Beiheft 21 der Historischen Zeitschrift.] (Munich, R. Oldenbourg, 1931, pp. x, 214, 10 M.) The author of this book, a Bohemian, was inspired to attack the subject by the events leading to the dismemberment of the Austro-Hungarian Empire and the rise of the Republic of Czechoslovakia. While these events were immediately connected with the World War, the way for them was paved by a social and intellectual development in process for over a century. The author was desirous of ascertaining whether a similar phenomenon was not present in the case of the American Revolution and the rise of the United States. Thus the book constitutes a survey of the cultural background of the War of Independence and an examination of its underlying causes. After an illuminating discussion of the historiography of the Revolution, the author describes the process of colonization, touching upon the various types of emigrants, the land system, and population growth. This is followed by a section devoted to the intellectual life of the colonies in which such topics as religion, education, and the press are selected for treatment. The way is thus prepared for an examination of the legal and administrative system with emphasis upon the various organs of control located in London, the provincial governors and assemblies, and town and parish government.

A description of economic conditions is next in order. Trade, agriculture, industry, labor, and taxation are dealt with. By means of this comprehensive and systematic survey, the author is able to throw into relief the divergencies in thought and interest between England and the thirteen colonies, which laid the foundation of the Revolutionary movement. The book is written in a clear, concise, and at times picturesque style, and displays a commendable familiarity with the results of recent research. It will help to acquaint a German speaking public with the conclusions of contemporary English and American scholarship respecting the complex of forces which gave birth to American independence.

Wellesley College. EDWARD E. CURTIS.

The Hussey-Cumberland Mission and American Independence: an Essay in the Diplomacy of the American Revolution. By Samuel Flagg Bemis, Professor of History in the George Washington University. (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1931, pp. vii, 195, $3.50.) Professor Bemis's essay, with its supporting documents from Spanish, British, and French archives, is a vigorously written and valuable contribution to our knowledge of European diplomacy in relation to the American War for Independence. Incidentally, it is an interesting by-product of the author's work for the Historical Mission of the Library of Congress. The transactions here described fall mainly within a period of less than two years, beginning in the autumn of 1779, a few months before Spain's entry into the war with England, and ending in the early summer of 1781. In brief, it is the story of negotiations, carried on through more or less responsible agents, with a view first to a separate understanding between Spain and Great Britain, and ultimately to a general settlement involving not only the European belligerents but also the American colonies to whose independence France was pledged.

The major personalities concerned were the Spanish minister Florida Blanca, Vergennes as the director of French foreign policy, and George III. with certain members of his cabinet. In the foreground, however, are three minor personages. First in the list is the Abbé Thomas Hussey, an Irishman educated in Spain, who was chaplain of the Spanish embassy at the outbreak of hostilities, and thereafter, with British connivance, in charge of the Spanish intelligence service in England. Quite a different type was George Johnstone, formerly governor of West Florida and then commodore of a British squadron on the Portuguese station, who attempted to play a quasi-diplomatic rôle. Finally, there was Richard Cumberland, play-writer and minor public functionary, who, on a mission to Spain for his government, displayed more zeal than discretion.

Some of the doings of these men—Hussey, Johnstone, and Cumber-

land—bring an element of comedy, not to say burlesque, on the diplomatic stage; but the issues involved were serious enough: Spanish hopes of Gibraltar; the difficulty of reconciling Spanish objectives with French commitments to the Americans; the possibility of peace terms which, under the pressure of Russo-Austrian mediation and with French connivance, would not only leave the United States without complete independence, but would also, on the principle of *uti possidetis,* detach the two southernmost colonies from the confederation.

The conclusion reached is that the detachment of Spain from the Family Compact might have been brought about if George III. had been willing to "pay the high price of Gibraltar" which he stubbornly refused to do. With equal obstinacy, he resisted every attempt to carry the subject of the American colonies into peace negotiations between himself and his traditional European enemies. This fine obstinacy saved the cause of "perfect American independence".

E. B. G.

American Neutrality in 1793: a Study in Cabinet Government. By Charles Marion Thomas, Ph.D., Assistant Professor in History in Long Island University. (New York, Columbia University Press, 1931, pp. 294, $4.50.) There has been a place for a dissertation on American neutrality after February 1, 1793. Previous works on the period in considering the larger diplomatic phases of that war, have not paused to analyze the technicalities of the various causes and issues which tested the principles of neutrality invoked by Washington's Cabinet. Professor Thomas does this, and notes how the Cabinet devised, interpreted, and applied these principles at a time when the new Federal government itself was still in the experimental stage. He sees in the execution of American neutrality in 1793 the operation of Cabinet government. In this analysis the author is reasonably acute, his narrative clear and well constructed. The treatise will become a standard reference on the subject—for the year 1793. The author's *terminus ad quem* is December 31, 1793, when Jefferson quitted office as Secretary of State. Thus despite the professions of the subtitle the book amounts to a study of Thomas Jefferson and Neutrality in 1793. One could find no fault with such a title had the author chosen to use it. The work is based principally on the published *American State Papers,* on the published and unpublished works of the Fathers, on F. J. Turner's edition of the *Correspondence of the French Ministers* (which does not include enclosures), and on the Ford transcripts of the dispatches of George Hammond, first British minister at Philadelphia. Though the author cites the collections of the Division of Manuscripts of the Library of Congress, he apparently has not examined the archives of the Depart-

ment of State. It is fair to say, however, that the most important documents in those archives on American neutrality for this period have already been printed.

Limitation to the year 1793 prevented adequate treatment of the rangy problem of neutral rights, as distinct from neutral duties, and of that of foreign recruiting on American soil; but then, these subjects have been covered elsewhere. The author corrects a rather persistent attribution of the draft of the neutrality proclamation to John Jay; Randolph really drafted it, he points out, though a draft by Jay is surprisingly similar to certain passages in the actual proclamation.

There is certainly a normal number of errors in proof reading; and, not often, a misuse of words. Where phases of his narrative have already been treated by other monographs, the author prefers to reassemble the citations, with a few additional ones, rather than to cite the monograph.

George Washington University. SAMUEL FLAGG BEMIS.

The Papers of Randolph Abbott Shotwell. Edited by J. G. de Roulhac Hamilton, with the Collaboration of Rebecca Cameron. Volume II. (Raleigh, North Carolina Historical Commission, 1931, pp. x, 581.) In the second volume of the *Shotwell Papers,* the author takes up his story with the third day of the Battle of Gettysburg and records his experiences and impressions throughout the remainder of the war period and down to the middle of 1871. He describes graphically Pickett's charge, the retreat into Virginia, and the fighting around Richmond in the spring of 1864. In the early part of June he was captured and sent first to Point Lookout and later to Fort Delaware where he was not released until two months after Lee's surrender.

He was then afforded transportation to Charlotte, North Carolina, whence he made his way to Rutherfordton, in the western part of the state. From that time on, Shotwell recounts the many outrages of Reconstruction as he viewed them, confining his attention largely to the local situation in Rutherford County. He came out boldly against the Radical scalawags, who seized control of the county, and to fight them more effectively he became the head of the local Ku Klux Klan. He was pursued relentlessly by his enemies, who finally rejoiced in his arrest and lodgment in the county jail, and there volume II. leaves him in an iron cage.

Shotwell was bold and impetuous, and though by nature not of a complaining disposition, he set forth in bitterness the misfortunes which seemed always to surround him. He believed that the Confederacy had not been sufficiently concerned with the comforts of its soldiers; he condemned in a most biting and blasting fashion the inhuman treatment heaped upon him and his fellow-sufferers while they lay prisoners of war

at Point Lookout and Fort Delaware; and in dealing with his Radical enemies in North Carolina he found none too important nor insignificant to be spared his denunciations. He did not attempt to write an unbiased account, knowing well how impossible such a task would be for a person who had suffered the misfortunes that had come to him; neither did he always state the exact facts, though the fault was due to carelessness rather than to an attempt to deceive. This book, nevertheless, is a powerful human document and a valuable addition to a complete understanding of the Civil War decade. Part of it was written as a diary, while other parts were prepared as late as 1880. Little editing was necessary, but what seemed desirable consisted largely in setting Shotwell right in his minor misstatements.

The University of Georgia. E. M. COULTER.

Bibliography of Virginia History since 1865. By Lester Jesse Cappon, Research Associate in History. [Under the Direction of Dumas Malone, Sometime Richmond Alumni Professor of History.] (University, Virginia, Institute for Research in the Social Sciences; New York, Century Company, 1930, pp. xxviii, 900.) This volume is a bibliographical tool, unique in character, useful in all the "social sciences". There are other bibliographies and guides for particular Southern states, as Owen's work on Alabama, Riley's *Mississippi,* and Swem's *Virginia.* But in no instance has the period since 1876 been given especial stress, whereas Mr. Cappon's work relates exclusively to that period. His guide is very pertinent because the present generation of scholars is just far enough removed from the decades following the close of political reconstruction to inquire into the Southern transformation since 1876. That inquiry will, beyond doubt, have more the flavor of social history than conventional institutional development; the practically-minded sociologist, the pragmatic political scientist, as well as the historian, will find subjects unending in the South of the past half century.

All such inquirers must turn to the bibliography of Mr. Cappon. They will find there listed 6242 titles, including newspaper files, periodicals, catalogues of academies and colleges, sermons, church reports, broadsides, and propaganda material, and books by Virginia men of letters, as well as formal histories and descriptive writings. The notable omission is that of Virginia state publications, which have been listed by Swem. All the classes of material mentioned are listed under eleven "parts", namely, Publications and Indexes, Economic, General Social Conditions, Political and Constitutional, Military, Educational, Religious, Local History, Biography, Literature and Art, and Newspapers. A copious index gives

indispensable aid in tracing down the individual subjects within these parts or classifications.

The location of these titles required research not only in the leading libraries of Virginia but also in the Library of Congress, eleven departmental libraries in Washington, the Boston Public Library, the New York Public Library, the libraries of Harvard, and the McCormick Agricultural Library, in Chicago. In all, twenty-eight institutions have been searched for Virginia material of the years after 1876. To conduct a search so extensive and to bring together its result is a task of no mean proportions, and Mr. Cappon richly deserves commendation. For financing the project appreciation must be extended to the Institute for Research in the Social Sciences at the University of Virginia, which in turn has had the support of the Social Science Research Council. These foundations could have done no more important practical service for scholars interested in the new South than to have seen this publication through. Is it beyond the mark to express a hope that some similar work for the entire South may be projected, as, for example, bibliographies of the Southern press, agriculture, manufactures, race, and immigration, since 1876?

Duke University. WILLIAM K. BOYD.

Mr. Miller of "The Times": the Story of an Editor. By F. Fraser Bond. (New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1931, pp. x, 264, $3.00.) F. Fraser Bond's entertaining book on *Mr. Miller of "The Times"* is unimportant in its contribution to history. In chatty, informal style it offers an adequate and honest impression of the personality of Charles R. Miller, and it tells much of his methods of work during his long editorship of the New York *Times*, 1883–1921. But while he was called editor, his position was really only that of chief editorial writer. The actual control of the newspaper during and after its reinvigoration rested always, as it still does, with Adolph S. Ochs. The author rightly makes no effort to depict Mr. Miller as director of the destinies of what after 1896 rapidly became the best American newspaper, and he presents little of the general history of that paper. It appears from this brief biographical sketch (180 pages of the book are devoted to Mr. Miller, and the rest contain extracts from his writings) that Mr. Miller never desired to make the *Times* an organ either of aggressive leadership or trenchant criticism; that while he knew a number of American statesmen, notably Roosevelt, Root, and Wilson, he was never intimate or on confidential terms with them; and that he never greatly influenced public opinion. He was a pleasant, cultivated gentleman who usually emphasized a calm judicial poise in dealing with questions of the day. The World War and the policies of Woodrow Wilson, which he energetically supported, gave more vigor to his pen, and his deepest

impress on his generation was as a friend first of the Allied cause and later of the League of Nations. Few letters are used in the volume, which belongs to the category of anecdotal biography.

Columbia University. ALLAN NEVINS.

Sir James Douglas and British Columbia. By Walter N. Sage, M.A., Ph.D., Professor of History, University of British Columbia. (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1930, pp. 398, $4.00.) The career of James Douglas bridges the years between the great days of the Hudson's Bay Company trappers on the west coast of North America and the establishment of responsible government in British Columbia. The young Scotch fur trader who came out in 1819 as an employee of the North West Company, and who received his training under the great McLoughlin, lived to pilot the two colonies of Vancouver and British Columbia through their dangerous formative period, when the gold rush of 1858 and the continuing international complications with the United States over Oregon and San Juan Island seriously threatened British rule on the Pacific Coast.

Professor Sage has centered the story of these years around the life of Douglas. His book is heavily documented, and so detailed that the account is by no means easy reading, and some of the events seem to be of local importance only. But the scholar who wishes a complete, meticulous narrative of the beginnings of British Columbia will find it here, and in spots, he will be carried away by his interest in the tale of *voyageurs* and Indian affrays, life at the fur trading posts, the route of the fur trader's express over the five thousand miles from Fort Vancouver across the mountains to Hudson Bay, the battle between trader and settler over the future of the Oregon country, the advance of the mining frontier into the British Northwest, and the slow decline of Hudson's Bay Company rule, and the rise of representative and responsible government. Douglas was a strong governor of the old type, who did not propose to let an elective assembly share in his administrative powers, and in controversies with the United States, he took a vigorous, not to say bellicose position. The Pacific Coast settlements were decidedly backward in their constitutional development, as compared with the British North American provinces farther east, partly because Douglas insisted on legislating by proclamation; nevertheless, the same forces were at work, though on a much smaller scale, in much the same controversies for self-government that one finds in the political struggles of the older eastern provinces.

Professor Sage has done a thorough piece of research, and has written his results in a clear but undistinguished style. Slips in proof reading, although of little importance, are to be regretted in so painstaking a piece of work. The index is a model of completeness.

The Ohio State University. CARL WITTKE.

Extraterritoriality in Japan, and the Diplomatic Relations resulting in its Abolition, 1853–1899. By F. C. Jones, M.A. With a Foreword by Jerome D. Greene. (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1931, pp. ix, 237, $3.00.) This treatise was originally prepared as a dissertation for the Master of Arts degree at the University of Bristol. It may be considered a useful résumé of much of the material accessible to the author, but it by no means exhausts the possibilities of the subject. The failure to make use of the material available in the United States *Foreign Relations,* and also certain secondary works which contain documents of considerable value, seriously affects the treatment. And, on the other hand, too much reliance has been placed upon one of the most uncritical of biographies, the chapters by F. V. Dickins in *The Life of Sir Harry Parkes.*

Because of the paucity of published diplomatic correspondence no adequate study of extraterritoriality in Japan can be written without an examination of the archives. While Mr. Jones could hardly have been expected to visit Washington, the files of the British foreign office were open to him for most of the period covered by his treatise. The reviewer, who has read the entire record in the State Department files, could easily point out many inadequate or erroneous statements which are based upon the scanty materials on which Mr. Jones had to rely. Thus "the first suggestion of revision" was made by the Japanese in February, 1869, and not, under very different circumstances, in April, 1871 (p. 79). The account of the Iwakura Mission, of the treaty revision conferences of 1882 and 1886–1887, and of the American treaties of 1889 and 1894 may be considered inadequate.

The most irritating feature of extraterritoriality from the Japanese point of view is mentioned by the author without due recognition of its significance. It lay in the fact that successive orders in council, promulgated in London, went far beyond any grant enjoyed by treaty, and that the British ministers were thenceforth bound to obey the order rather than to abide by the treaty. It was on the strength of such *ex parte* orders in council that British subjects were held to be exempt from obedience to Japanese laws, a view which the United States government never accepted.

Mr. Jones, however, has given us a well written and objective study of a very interesting phase in the relations between the Western powers and Japan, but one which will have to be amplified when the essential facts are disclosed.

P. J. T.

HISTORICAL NEWS

AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

In honor of the Bicentennial of the birth of George Washington a special meeting of the American Historical Association will take place on May 7 in the Auditorium of the Library of Congress. There will be two sessions, afternoon and evening.

At 3 P. M. there will be the following addresses: The Significance for Historians of the Bicentennial Edition of the Writings of George Washington, by John C. Fitzpatrick; George Washington and Committees at Headquarters, by Edmund C. Burnett; and George Washington and his Potomac Environment (illustrated), by Charles Moore.

At 8 P. M. the Bicentennial Address will be delivered by J. Franklin Jameson. His subject will be Washington as Exemplar.

(The chairman of the local committee is Professor Samuel Flagg Bemis, of George Washington University.)

AMERICAN COUNCIL OF LEARNED SOCIETIES

(Annual Meeting)

The fourteenth meeting of the American Council of Learned Societies, being its thirteenth annual meeting, was held in Washington on January 29–30, 1932.

The total budget of the Council, for 1932, including fellowships and grants-in-aid, the *Dictionary of American Biography,* and other specially financed projects, amounts to approximately $370,000. Provision was made at the meeting for the following undertakings. In the field of Bibliography: among others, the completion by the American Historical Association of its *Bibliography of American Travel;* the completion by the same Association of a cumulative index to the successive volumes, 1906–1930, of its annual bibliography, *Writings on American History;* assistance to Professor Louis C. Karpinski, of the University of Michigan, for preliminary work on his proposed *Bibliography of Printed Maps of America.* In the domain of Archæology: in coöperation with other institutions, assistance to the excavations at Samaria, Antioch in Syria, and of certain prehistoric caves near Haifa, in Palestine. Assistance is also offered to the publication, by Professor David M. Robinson, of Johns Hopkins University, of the results of his excavations at Olynthus in Macedonia. In the field of Paleography: provision is made for the continuation of the preparation of a *Paleographical Guide to Latin MSS. prior to 800 A. D.,* by E. A. Lowe, of the Carnegie Institution of Washington. In the field of History: the

completion of studies in the organization and functioning of departments of the English government between 1327 and 1336, sponsored by the Mediaeval Academy; the continuation of studies in the history of Anglo-Papal relations prior to the Protestant Revolution, also sponsored by the Mediaeval Academy; the continuation of the *Dictionary of American Biography,* sponsored by the Council.

In the field of the History of Thought provision is also made for: research in the earliest history of Greek thought, by Professor William A. Heidel; catalogue of the manuscript Latin translations of Aristotle, preliminary to editing a corpus of medieval Aristotelian texts, a project of the Union of Academies; preliminary work on editions of the Arabic, Hebrew, and Latin versions of the Aristotelian Commentaries of Averroes, a project of the Mediaeval Academy contributory to the international project of the Union of Academies; a Documentary History of Primitivism and Anti-Primitivism, by Professors Arthur O. Lovejoy, Gilbert Chinard, and George Boas, of Johns Hopkins. In Oriental Studies: continuation of a Survey of Materials and Facilities for Chinese Studies, by Charles S. Gardner, under the auspices of the Council; publication of the second annual *Bulletin on the Progress of Chinese Studies in the United States;* participation with Harvard-Yenching Institute in the organization of a Summer Seminar in Far Eastern Studies, to be held during the Harvard Summer School.

The officers for 1932 are: chairman, Edward C. Armstrong, Princeton University; vice chairman, J. Franklin Jameson, Library of Congress; secretary-treasurer, William E. Lingelbach, University of Pennsylvania.

The Permanent Secretary, Dr. Waldo G. Leland, announces the appointment, on part-time, of Mr. John Marshall, of Cambridge, Mass., as editor.

PERSONAL

John H. Latané, professor of American history in the Walter Hines Page School of International Relations, Johns Hopkins University, died on January 1, at the age of 62. He was educated at Baltimore City College and Johns Hopkins University, receiving his doctor's degree at the latter institution in 1895. He was the first Albert Shaw lecturer in American diplomatic history (1898) at Johns Hopkins. He taught at Randolph-Macon Woman's College and at Washington and Lee University from 1898 until 1913, when he returned to Johns Hopkins as professor of American history and head of the department. His personality made a deep impression upon his students. He was cordial and democratic in his attitude toward them and he retained a warm interest in their welfare. Among his historical works are: *Diplomatic Relations of the United States and Spanish America* (1900), revised and enlarged as *The United States and Latin*

America (1920), *America as a World Power* (1907), *From Isolation to Leadership* (1919), and *History of American Foreign Policy* (1927).

George Wells Knight, professor of American history in Ohio State University, died on February 10, at the age of 73. A member of the class of 1878 at the University of Michigan, he also took his doctor's degree there (1884). His connection with Ohio State University continued for forty-six years, beginning in 1885. His force as a teacher was widely recognized. His first publication was a volume on the *History of Land Grants for Education in the Northwest Territory* (1885). In collaboration with Professor John R. Commons he also wrote a *History of Higher Education in Ohio* (1891).

Nicolas Kareev, the distinguished Russian historian, died on February 20, 1931, at the age of 80. His first work, which won him recognition in France as well as Russia, was entitled *Les Paysans et la Question Paysanne en France dans le Dernier Quart du XVIII^e^ Siècle* (1879). From 1879 to 1884 he was professor in the University of Warsaw, a connection which resulted in several works on Polish history. He then became professor in the University of St. Petersburg. From the later period of his work date extended histories of modern Europe and of France. He contributed the article on Russia to *Histoire et Historiens depuis Cinquante Ans,* which the *Revue Historique* published in 1927.

Lujo Brentano, the economist and historian, died on September 10, at the age of 87.

Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorf, one of the foremost Hellenists, died on September 25, at the age of 82.

Charles Geoffroy de Grandmaison, the French historian, died on October 30, at the age of 63. Volume III. of his *L'Espagne et Napoléon, 1812–1814,* will be reviewed in this journal in July.

Gustave Le Bon, the eminent psychologist, who often wrote upon the psychological aspects of history, died on December 14, at the age of 91. His volume on the *Bases Scientifiques d'une Philosophie de l'Histoire* was reviewed in this journal in January.

Augustin Sicard, known for his writings on the history of the French clergy, died recently, at the age of 87. His best known work is *Le Clergé de France pendant la Révolution.*

Announcement is made of the appointment of visiting professors for the summer sessions of the following universities: *Alabama,* L. B. Schmidt; *Chicago,* Raymond C. Miller; *Colorado,* Lawrence F. Hill, Eugene C. Barker; *Columbia,* Carl Becker, Robert G. Caldwell, A. T. Olmstead, Howard Robinson, Nathaniel Schmidt, St. George L. Sioussat; *Duke,* E. M.

Coulter, Ross H. McLean; *George Washington,* J. Fred Rippy; *Harvard,* Robert C. Binkley, Benjamin B. Kendrick, David E. Owen; *Michigan,* Edgar H. McNeal, Paul Knaplund; *Minnesota,* George H. Ryden; *Missouri,* L. B. Shippee; *Nebraska,* Lowell J. Ragatz; *New York,* Laurence B. Packard; *North Dakota,* Martin L. Cole; *Northwestern,* Frank M. Anderson, Charles W. Ramsdell; *Pennsylvania,* A. T. Volwiler; *Pennsylvania State College,* George A. Wood; *Southern California at Los Angeles,* Homer C. Hockett, Warren F. Woodring; *Stanford,* John C. Parish, Carl Stephenson; *Syracuse,* R. H. Shryock; *Texas,* W. C. Binkley, Cardinal Goodwin, J. C. Patterson; *Washington* (state), Andrew Fish; *West Virginia,* John D. Hicks, A. C. Krey; *Western Reserve,* Donald G. Barnes, Huntley Dupre.

Professor William R. Shepherd, of Columbia University, has been appointed Carnegie Professor in the University of Vienna during the present spring term.

Dr. J. E. Pomfret, of Princeton University, was awarded the second prize in the section for general literature in the competition of Aonach Tailteann (the Tailteann Games) held last year in connection with the Aonach of 1932 at Dublin. His subject was *The Struggle for Land in Ireland, 1800–1923* (*Am. Hist. Rev.,* XXXVI. 387).

Dr. Ralph B. Flanders, of New York University, has been awarded the Simon Baruch Prize for Southern history.

Professor Louis B. Wright, formerly of the University of North Carolina, who has been a visiting scholar at the Henry E. Huntington Library, 1931–1932, has accepted an invitation to become a member of the permanent research staff of the library.

Professor William Thomas Hutchinson was promoted in October, 1931, to the rank of associate professor in the University of Chicago.

Professor George Norlin, of the University of Colorado, has been appointed Roosevelt Professor at the University of Berlin for the academic year 1932–1933. He will give a series of lectures on the History of Humanism in the United States.

Professor Herbert I. Priestley, of the University of California, is giving a course of lectures in Stanford University during the current semester on the diplomatic history of the United States.

GENERAL

General review: Henri Sée, *Histoire Économique et Sociale, 1930–1931* (Rev. Hist., Nov.[1]).

Under the title *Survey of Activities of American Agencies in Relation to Materials for Research in the Social Sciences and the Humanities* (Wash-

[1] All journals referred to in the Historical News are under dates beginning with July, 1931, and all books are of 1931, unless a date is given.

ington and New York, 1932, pp. xiv, 184, planographed) the Social Science Research Council and the American Council of Learned Societies have published, with a foreword by Solon J. Buck, the results of an investigation carried on during the past year by Franklin F. Holbrook, of the Minnesota Historical Society, for the Joint Committee of the two Councils on Materials for Research. The *Survey* reports the activities of 457 American agencies—societies, universities, museums, and other groups and institutions—engaged in collecting, preserving, indexing, publishing, and otherwise making available materials of any kind for research in history, genealogy, biography, archæology, anthropology, ethnology, folklore, numismatics, philately, geography, economics, political science, sociology, philosophy, literature, and the fine arts.

The American Council of Learned Societies has issued *A Catalogue of Publications in the Humanities by American Learned Societies.* This includes books and periodicals, and in the case of periodicals gives the list of back issues available. There is an index. Another recent publication of the Council is *A Union List of Selected Western Books on China in American Libraries,* compiled by Charles S. Gardner. The price is 25 cents.

Under the auspices of the Harvard-Yenching Institute a Summer Seminar on Far Eastern Studies is to be held at Harvard University from July 6 to Aug. 17. The aim is to bring together a group of trained and mature scholars, who, although their major training has been in other fields, find it desirable to offer instruction in Far Eastern civilization. There will be round-table discussions under the leadership of three eminent specialists: Arthur W. Hummel, chief of the Division of Chinese and Japanese Literature, Library of Congress, Lucius C. Porter, professor of philosophy in Yenching University, and Langdon Warner, fellow of the Fogg Art Museum. Further information may be had from Dr. Mortimer Graves, secretary of the Committees on the Promotion of Chinese and Japanese Studies, American Council of Learned Societies, 907 Fifteenth Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.

The completion of the third volume of *Social Science Abstracts* with the publication of the December (1931) issue makes available the past three years' production of important periodical literature in the social sciences in classified and summarized form. Vol. III. contains 19,851 abstracts, distributed by fields as follows: Human Geography, 1040; Cultural Anthropology, 1008; History, 5465; Economics, 5896; Political Science, 3798; Sociology, 2270; Research Methods, 374. There are 2871 more abstracts in vol. III. than in the previous volume, the greatest increase being in the history section which has 1126 more than in 1930. The abstracts in the history section fall into the following divisions: Archæology, 240; Ancient History, 982; Medieval History, 1293; Modern History, 2872 (including 676 in United States History); Research Methods in History, 88.

The October *Bulletin* of the International Committee of Historical Sciences, with the title of *L'Enseignement de l'Histoire dans les Écoles Primaires,* contains partial results of the Enquiry of the Sub-Committee for the Teaching of History, reports on teaching in the elementary schools of seventeen countries in alphabetical order from Albania to Greece. The report for the United States was written by Professor A. C. Krey.

The *Annales d'Histoire Économique et Sociale* has become with the January issue a bimonthly instead of a quarterly, but the total number of pages for the year will remain approximately the same.

In the annual (1930) volume of the Naval War College on *International Law Situations,* prepared by Professor G. G. Wilson (Washington, Government Printing Office, pp. 176), the problems discussed are: London Naval Treaty, Article 22, and Submarines; Absence of Local Authority; and Belligerent Aircraft. Accompanying the solutions are detailed notes.

The Committee of Expert Archivists, at a second meeting held in Paris on Dec. 19 and 20, adopted a resolution inviting the Committee on Intellectual Coöperation to authorize the Institute of Intellectual Coöperation to prepare an International Guide to Archives. It also called attention to the advantages which would result from regular exchanges of facsimiles of paleographic documents accepted as most characteristic in various countries.

Dialect Notes describes the Progress of the Linguistic Atlas and Plans for the Future Work of the Dialect Society (VI. 3). This issue contains also about one-fourth of R. H. Thornton's *An American Glossary* (A-Dip).

Tome IV. of *Géographie Universelle* has now been completed by the publication of vol. II., entitled *Suisse-Autriche-Hongrie-Tchécoslovaquie-Pologne-Roumanie* (Paris, Colin, 1932, pp. 466, 120 fr.). It is richly illustrated with photographs and maps. Vol. I. was published two years ago, and contained the section on Germany, in addition to that of "Généralités", which discussed the structure of Central Europe and its influence upon history. Both volumes were written by Professor Emmanuel de Martonne, of the University of Paris. As this work follows the tradition of Vidal de la Blache, and is under the general direction of Professor L. Gallois, it is needless to emphasize its utility to students of European history.

In a monograph entitled *Christenheit und Europa: zur Geschichte des Europäischen Gemeinschaftsgefühls von Dante bis Leibniz,* Werner Fritzemeyer studies the secularization of this concept, by which "Christendom" was transformed into "Europe". It forms Beiheft 23 of the *Historische Zeitschrift.*

Professor Albert Galloway Keller's *Societal Evolution: a Study of the Evolutionary Basis of the Science of Society* (New York, Macmillan, pp. vii, 419, $2.50), which appeared originally in 1915, has been republished in

a revised edition, largely rewritten, and provided with ample illustrative material.

Professor George Young in *The Pendulum of Progress: an Essay in Political and Scientific Politics* (Oxford, University Press; New Haven, Yale University Press, pp. viii, 184, $3.00) charts the course of society, illustrating his analysis by an abundance of diagrams. The goal which he discovers is a new society in which "classes and countries now conflicting will co-operate". There are many illuminating comments upon the recent experience of mankind in America as well as in Europe.

The work entitled *Coup d'Œil sur la Chronologie de la Nation Égyptienne,* by Joseph Cattaui Pasha (Paris, Plon, pp. xiv, 447, 75 fr.), sketches the political history of Egypt from the First Dynasty (3400 B.C.) to the "Forty-Fifth Dynasty" (1922 A.D.). The material is admittedly offered at second-hand, and much of this needs to be brought up to date. J. A. W.

With a view to a commemorative publication, Mrs. Claude H. Van Tyne of 1942 Cambridge Road, Ann Arbor, Mich., desires to obtain from correspondents of her late husband, by way of loan, any letters of his which they may possess. Such letters will be promptly copied and returned.

ANCIENT HISTORY

The *Year's Work in Classical Studies* gives a bibliography of books and articles in Greek and Roman history published between July, 1930, and July, 1931. In Bursian's *Jahresbericht,* 234, 1932, K. Springer gives a report of the literature on Cicero's Letters from 1909 to 1928. In the *Archiv für Papyrusforschung,* 10, 1 and 2, L. Wenger continues his review of juristic literature, 1914–1931 (nos. 63–154). There is also an Urkunden-Referat, by U. Wilcken, while A. Körte reports literary texts with the exception of Christian ones. A bibliography of Christian Egypt, 1930–1931, by De Lacy O'Leary, appears in the *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* for November.

Material bearing on recent excavations and discoveries is again large in quantity. In *Antiquity* (December) E. Mackay discusses material suggesting further links between ancient Sind and Sumer. S. Casson, in *Art and Archaeology* (October), describes a royal necropolis in the Balkans. In the *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* (November) O. H. Myers and H. W. Fairman publish a report of the excavations at Armant, 1929–1931, and J. D. S. Pendlebury, a preliminary report of the excavations at Tell el Amarna, 1930–1931. In *Art and Archaeology* (October and November) W. Miller gives an account of the Athenian Agora. F. J. De Waele, in

the *American Journal of Archaeology* (December), describes the Greek Stoa north of the temple at Corinth, and T. L. Shear, the excavation of a Roman chamber tomb at Corinth. The *Illustrated London News* for Jan. 2 has aerial photographs revealing Roman military works and frontier roads in Syria previously unknown; and for Jan. 23 and 30, D. M. Robinson's descriptions of house plans, terra cottas, mosaics, and coins found at Olynthus in his recent campaign.

Criticism of historical source material appears in K. Lehmann's Von Polybios' Schreibtisch, *Rheinisches Museum,* 30, 4, a criticism of the report of the Battle of Cannae; in G. Stumpel's Name und Nationalität der Germanen: eine Neue Untersuchung zu Posidonios, Cäsar, und Tacitus, *Klio,* Beiheft XII.; and in P. Wolters, Der Amykläische Thron bei Kallisthenes, *Philologus,* 86, 4.

A discussion of interest to students of ancient economic history appears in the *Journal of Economic and Business History* (February). It is by H. Lutz, on Price Fluctuations in Ancient Babylonia. Note also G. C. Whittick, Notes on some Romano-British Pigs of Lead, in the *Journal of Roman Studies* (1931, 2), and R. Mouterde and A. Poidebard, La Voie Antique des Caravanes entre Palmyre et Hit au II^{e} Siècle ap. J.-C. d'après une Inscription retrouvée au S.-E. de Palmyre (1930), in *Syria,* XII. 2.

The History of World Civilization from Prehistoric Times to the Middle Ages, by Hermann Schneider, published in German in 1927, has appeared in English translation (New York, Harcourt, Brace, 2 vols., pp. xiv, 360; 908, $10.00). The author, in the spirit of Hegel, attempts to present a survey of man's progress in culture as an evolution in which the various separate civilizations are stages, yet contain within them parallel developments. He has in many cases subordinated his interpretations of the facts to this idea. His task, he claims, is a philosophical one, and, as he adds quite properly, is closely connected with the labors of specialists in particular fields. Unfortunately, he mentions only a few of the specialists whose results he is using. Moreover, the compression involved in presenting the story of ancient culture, history, and politics, within some 670 pages, with a 200 page supplement on ancient India and ancient China, results at times in mere summarizing without coherence rather than in a successful synthesis. Errors of fact appear, such as the mention of Greek cities in Etruria (p. 583), and also errors of interpretation, such as the curious theory that the Etruscans were driven from the Po Valley by the invasion of the Indo-Germanic Umbrians (p. 582); the exaggerated estimate which the author places upon Plautus and Cato the Censor may be due to the fact that they flourished in the period which he calls Rome's first cultural prime.

Under the title of *The Fight for an Empire* (Sydney, Angus and Robertson, pp. xx, 173, 6 s.) Professor W. J. Wodehouse, of the University of Sydney, has translated the third book of the Histories of Tacitus, printing the translation opposite the text of each chapter. The third book, as will be recalled, tells the story of the last quarter of the "Year of the Four Emperors", 69 A.D. In his introduction the author furnishes the reader with an account of the general situation and of the organization of the Roman army. It is a service to present in so readable English the well-known passages of the great Roman historian.

Under the auspices of the Prussian Academy, of the Saxon Society of Letters, and the German Notgemeinschaft, has been published the second volume of the *Index Interpolationum quae in Iustiniani Digestis inesse dicuntur* (Weimar, Hermann Böhlaus Nachfolger, pp. vii, cols. 326). The editors are Ernst Levy and Ernst Rabel, assisted by various collaborators.

Articles: K. Sethe, *Die Totenliteratur der Alten Aegypten: die Geschichte einer Sitte* (Sitzb. d. Preuss. Akad., June); E. Schwarz, *Einiges über Assyrien, Syrien, Koilesyrien* (Philologus, 86, 4); T. L. Shear, *The Lion Group at Sardis* [a link between Hittites and Etruscans] (Art Bulletin, June); G. Lombardo, *Alessandro Filelleno* (Riv. di Filol., Dec.); A. P. Dorjahn, *The Athenian Senate and the Oligarchy of 404/3 B.C.* (Philol. Quar., Jan.); G. de Sanctis, *Postille Tucididee* (Rendiconti d. Acc. naz. dei Lincei, 6, 6, 1–10); W. Otto, *Zu den Syrischen Kriegen der Ptolemäer* (Philologus, 86, 4); H. Schräder, *Ueber die Inschrift des Ariaramnes* (Sitzb. d. Preuss. Akad., July); J. Stroux, *Die Foruminschrift beim Lapis Niger* (Philologus, 86, 4); C. Saumagne, *Les Prétextes Juridiques de la Troisième Guerre Punique* [concl.] (Rev. Hist., Sept.); F. E. Adcock, *The Legal Term of Caesar's Governorship in Gaul* (Class. Quar., Jan.); F. Lammert, *Die Römische Taktik zu Beginn der Kaiserzeit und die Geschichtschreibung* (Philologus, Supplb. 23, H. 2); C. Schuchardt, *Die Römer als Nachahmer im Landwehr und Lagerbau* (Sitzb. d. Preuss. Akad., July); W. W. Tarn, *The Battle of Actium* (Jour. Rom. Studies, 1931, 2); H. Box, *Roman Citizenship in Laconia* (*ibid.*); A. H. M. Jones, *The Urbanization of the Iturean Principality* (*ibid.*); E. Kornemann, *Niebuhr und der Aufbau der Altrömische Geschichte* (Hist. Zeitsch., 145, 2); J. R. Palanque, *Famines à Rome à la Fin du IV^e^ Siècle* (Rev. des Études Anc., Dec.); and *Sur la Date d'une Loi de Gratien contre l'Hérésie* (Rev. Hist., Sept.); L. Wenger, *Horoi Asylias* (Philologus, 86, 4).

T. R. S. B.

MEDIEVAL HISTORY

Students of the late Roman Empire and early Middle Ages should note the monograph entitled *Geld- und Naturalwirtschaftliche Erscheinungsformen im Staatlichen Aufbau Italiens während der Gotenzeit,* by Hans Geiss (Stuttgart, Kohlhammer, pp. xi, 66, 4.20 M.). It is Beiheft 27 of *Vierteljahrschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte.*

The Société des Bollandistes, Brussels, has recently published an index for vols. XXI.–XL. (1902–1922) of the *Analecta Bollandiana.*

In the *Bulletin Du Cange,* 1931, 1, 1–96, is published the Indice Provvisorio degli Spogli Italiani per il Dizionario Latino dell'Alto Medioevo. The Comité Central du Dictionnaire du Latin Médiéval announces that a similar list will soon be published to index works (in Latin) produced in France between 500 and 1000 A.D.

In vol. XI. of the *Annual* of the American Schools of Oriental Research, W. R. Taylor translates A New Syriac Fragment dealing with Incidents in the Second Crusade, and gives a facsimile of the document, which he discovered in the library of the Convent of St. Martin at Jerusalem. It was written in 1149.

In *Speculum* for January, Professor C. W. David discusses the Authorship of the *De Expugnatione Lyxbonensi,* which chronicles the only important success achieved by the Second Crusade.

The Mediaeval Academy has recently published selections from the Italian series of the Glossary of Mediaeval Terms of Business, which is being compiled by Dr. Florence Edler. They have been issued in preliminary form for distribution among scholars in the hope of obtaining helpful criticism. A limited supply is still available, and may be had gratis by writing to the address of the Academy at Cambridge, Mass.

Articles: Charles Guignebert, *La Sépulture de Pierre* (Rev. Hist., Nov.); Albert Vogt, *Le Théâtre à Byzance et dans l'Empire du IV^e^ au XIII^e^ Siècle* (Rev. des Quest. Hist., Oct.); R. Bonnaud, *Notes sur l'Astrologie au VI^e^ Siècle* (Rev. Belge de Philol. et d'Hist., July); Léon Levillain, *La Formule Bene Valiat et le Sceau dans les Diplômes Mérovingiens* (Bib. de l'École des Chartes, Jan., 1931); P. Lehman, *Ein Neuentdecktes Werk eines Angelsächs. Grammatikers Vorkarolinginischer Zeit* (Hist. Vierteljahr., Dec.); A. Dondeyne, *La Discipline des Scrutins dans l'Église Latine avant Charlemagne* (Rev. d'Hist. Ecclés., Jan.); Edward Kennard Rand, *A Preliminary Study of Alcuin's Bible* (Harvard Theol. Rev., Oct.); A. Vasiliev, *Economic Relations between Byzantium and Old Russia* (Jour. of Ec. and Bus. Hist., Feb.); *Catalogus Codicum Hagiographicorum Latinorum Seminarii et Ecclesiae Cathedralis Treverensis* [with an Index Sanctorum] (An. Boll., XLIX. 3, 4, 1931); J. de Ghellinck, *La Carrière de Pierre Lombard* (Rev.

d'Hist. Ecclés., Oct.); André Callebaut, *Saint Antoine de Padoue: Recherches sur ses Trente Premières Années, Notes, Discussions, et Documents* (Arch. Francis. Hist., Oct.); Léon Veuthey, *Alexandre d'Alexandrie, Maître de l'Université de Paris, 1270–1314* (Études Francis., Jan.); J. Destrez, *A propos d'un Répertoire des Maîtres en Théologie de Paris au XIII^e Siècle* (Recherches de Théol. Anc. et Méd., Jan.); Mario Esposito, *Una Manifestazione d'Incredulità Religiosa nel Medioevo:il Detto dei "Tre Impostori" e la sua Trasmissione da Frederico II. a Pomponazzi* (Archiv. Stor. Ital., Dec.); M. de Boüard, *Une Encyclopédie Médiévale jusqu'à présent inconnue:le Compendium Philosophiae* (Rev. Thomiste, Jan.); K. J. Conant, *The Apse at Cluny* (Speculum, Jan.); D. Bigongiari, *Notes on the Defensor Pacis* (*ibid.*); Ferdinand Lot, *A Quelle Époque a-t-on cessé de parler Latin?* (Bull. Du Cange, 1931, 1); Edwin R. A. Seligman, *A Mediaeval Tax Problem* [with a memorandum by a fourteenth century legal expert, dealing with the assessment of a piece of land for the general property tax] (Am. Ec. Rev., Dec.); E. Meynial, *Nouvelles Recherches sur l'Histoire Financière des XIV^e et XV^e Siècles* (Jour. des Sav., Dec.).

G. C. B.

MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

General review: G. Constant, A. Dufourcq, *Le Christianisme Occidental au Temps de la Réforme et de l'Absolutisme*, and *Le Christianisme Contemporain depuis la Révolution Française* (Rev. des Quest. Hist., Oct.); Roland H. Bainton, *The Present State of Servetus Studies* (Jour. of Mod. Hist., Mar.); H. L. Hoskins, *Some Recent Works on Mohamed Ali* (*ibid.*); L. G. Robinson, *Some Works on Contemporary History* (History, Jan.); T. Heyse, *La Documentation de Guerre en Belgique depuis 1919* (Rev. d'Hist. de la Guerre Mond., Jan.).

A popular *Cultural History of the Modern Age* is being written by Egon Friedell. Vol. I., on the Renaissance and Reformation, is already in print, both in German and English; vol. II., covering the period from the Thirty Years' War to the Congress of Vienna, translated by C. F. Atkinson, is now at hand (New York, Knopf, pp. 457). A third volume is promised. The specialist will sometimes feel the author's treatment of a period incomplete and his judgments one-sided, but there is frequently revealed a remarkable synthetic grasp and an ability to catch and interpret the spirit of a movement in brief and striking form. The author's observations are often shrewd and his style brilliant, with a leaning toward the paradox. The emphasis is on intellectual history and particularly on philosophy.

The Abbé Pierre Richard has now completed his second and last volume of an *Histoire du Concile de Trente* (Paris, Letouzey, pp. 529–1059). The work is a continuation of Hefele's great history of the councils and forms

vol. IX., pt. 2, of the French translation made by H. Leclercq. It is of especial value for its analytical quality.

In 1876, Hergenröther first published his famous manual of ecclesiastical history, a work which he kept abreast of the progress of scholarship by frequent editions. At his death in 1890, the whole was ably revised by J. P. Kirsch and has since remained an indispensable tool for Church historians. A new edition becoming necessary, Mgr. Kirsch secured the collaboration of Andreas Bigelmair, Josef Greven, and Andreas Veit, who have so completely changed the work, both in substance and form, that it is now issued under a new title, *Kirchengeschichte,* and the name of Kirsch replaces that of Hergenröther. Vol. IV., dealing with *Die Kirche im Zeitalter des Individualismus: 1648 bis zur Gegenwart* was entrusted to L. A. Veit, professor at Freiburg; its first part, *Im Zeichen des Vordringenden Individualismus, 1648–1800,* has now appeared (Freiburg i. Br., Herder, pp. xxiv, 528).

Sea Fights in the East Indies in the Years 1602–1639, with an introduction by Boies Penrose, curator of Prints in the Pennsylvania Museum (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, pp. ix, 297, $3.50), admirably printed, though without an index, contains accounts of ten principal engagements between the English, Dutch, and Portuguese. They are derived chiefly from *Purchas His Pilgrimes* and rare news-letters.

A paper of considerable value for the understanding of a notable episode in the history of southeastern Europe is *The Bulgarian and Other Atrocities, 1875–1878, in the Light of Historical Criticism,* read before the British Academy by Mr. Harold Temperley (London, Humphrey Milford).

Under the auspices of the Société de la Guerre Mondiale, a French translation has been made of Professor Bernadotte E. Schmitt's *Coming of the War.* The two volumes are entitled *Comment vint la Guerre* (Paris, Costes, 1932, pp. xii, 450; viii, 460, 150 fr.).

Alliance and Entente, 1871–1914, by George B. Manhart, of DePauw University (New York, Crofts, 1932, pp. vi, 90, 60 cents), is a useful selection from treaties, protocols, diplomatic correspondence, statements of officials, civil or military, and, at the end, opinions upon the causes of the war drawn from memoirs written by men in responsible position in 1914. It belongs to the series called Landmarks in History, edited by Professor Bernadotte E. Schmitt.

Professor Sidney B. Fay is the author of a paper on *The Influence of the Pre-War Press in Europe,* reprinted from vol. LXIV. (1931) of the *Proceedings* of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

The most recent volume of the *Documents Diplomatiques Français* belongs to the second series (1901–1911) and is vol. III., from Jan. 3, 1903, to Oct. 4, of the same year.

The Historical Service of the French General Staff has issued vols. II. and IV. of *Les Armées Françaises dans la Grande Guerre* (Imprimerie Nationale, with supplementary vols. and maps, 515, 580 fr.). Vol. II. is entitled *La Stabilisation du Front: les Attaques Locales* [Nov. 14, 1914–May 1, 1915]; vol. IV., *Projets de Coalition pour 1916: Offensive Allemande contre Verdun* [Feb. 2–May, 1916].

The Fifth Army, by General Sir Hubert Gough (London, Hodder and Stoughton, pp. xiv, 355, 25 s.), is a defense of that unhappy British force of twelve divisions upon which forty-two German divisions hurled themselves on Mar. 21, 1918. It is also an account of General Gough's own record up to that time. By his summary dismissal he was made the scapegoat for the sins of others.

The Memoirs of Marshal Joffre are expected in the fall, to be published in England and the United States at the same time that they appear in France.

The study by Camille Bloch and Pierre Renouvin of L'Article 231 du Traité de Versailles, sa Genèse et sa Signification, which originally appeared in *Le Temps* of Nov. 15, and which has caused much discussion in Germany, has been republished in the January *Revue d'Histoire de la Guerre Mondiale.* To the original article the authors have added a Réponse à quelques Objections, principally made in the German press.

Articles: A. S. Turberville, *Changing Views of the Renaissance* (History, Jan.); Carlton J. H. Hayes, *Significance of the Reformation in the Light of Contemporary Scholarship* (Cath. Hist. Rev., Jan.); Philip C. Jessup and Francis Deák, *The Early Development of the Law of Neutral Rights* (Pol. Sci. Quar., Dec.); Richard Lodge, *The Continental Policy of Great Britain, 1740–1760* (History, Jan.); E. de Chabannes La Palice, *La Mission du Comte de Chavigny à Francfort en 1744* (Rev. des Quest. Hist., Oct.); Roger Jaquel, *Euloge Schneider en Alsace* [I.] (An. Hist. de la Rév. Fr., Jan.); Thérèse Aubin, *Le Rôle Politique de Carnot depuis les Élections de Germinal, An V., jusqu'au Coup d'État du 18 Fructidor* (*ibid.*); Alfred Stern, *Abrüstungsverhandlungen im Jahre 1831* (Eur. Gespr., Dec.); J. Dontenville, *Les Origines Politiques et Diplomatiques de la Guerre de 1870* [I.–concl.] (N. Rev., Dec. 15, Jan. 1, 15); Francesco Tommasini, *Una Fase Ignorata della Triplice Alleanza* (N. Antol., Feb. 1); Georg Graf Waldersee, *Der Deutsche Generalstab und der Sechste Band der Britischen Dokumente* (Berl. Monatsh., Feb.); Jules Isaac, *L'Histoire des Origines de la Guerre dans les Manuels Allemands* [attitude of eight typical manuals analyzed] (Rev. d'Hist. de la Guerre Mond., Jan.); Albert Pingaud, *Les Tentatives de Paix pendant la Première Année de la Grande Guerre* (Rev. d'Hist. Dipl., XLV. 4); Prince Sixte de Bourbon, *Quinze Ans Après* [relative to negotiations with Austria for separate peace, 1917] (Rev. de Paris, Jan. 1);

Adolphe Laurens, *La Guerre Sous-Marine et les Neutres* [based upon documents in the Archives de la Section Historique de la Marine] (Rev. d'Hist. de la Guerre Mond., Oct.); R. Moreigne, *L'Effondrement Militaire de l'Autriche-Hongrie* [II.] (*ibid.*); David G. Rempel, *The Expropriation of the German Colonists in South Russia during the Great War* (Jour. of Mod. Hist., Mar.); Robert C. Binkley, *New Light on the Paris Peace Conference* [II.] (Pol. Sci. Quar., Dec.).

GREAT BRITAIN

General review: Charles Bémont, *Histoire de Grande Bretagne* (Rev. Hist., Sept.).

In the November *Bulletin* of the Institute of Historical Research a prominent place is given to an account of the Anglo-American Conference of Historians, 1931. The supplement, which is the second of the series, is a Guide to the Historical Publications of the Societies of England and of Wales.

Five recent pamphlets put forth by the British Academy (London, Humphrey Milford) commemorate deceased members noted in historical work—Sir George Trevelyan, Sir Sidney Lee, Sir Richard Temple, H. R. H. Hall, and Charles Plummer.

The Oxford University Press publishes for the British Academy *Roman Britain, 1914–1928* (pp. 114 and 16 plates), by Sir George Macdonald, a general survey, with interesting illustrations, of all that has been done in exploration of Roman Britain since Professor Haverfield's surveys, of similar title, in 1913 and 1914.

The Raleigh Lecture of 1930 before the British Academy is a paper by F. M. Powicke on *Sir Henry Spelman and the 'Concilia'* (London, Humphrey Milford).

The January *Bulletin* of the John Rylands Library, Manchester, contains a description of the Spanish Manuscripts in the John Rylands Library, by Moses Tyson, keeper of Western Manuscripts, and fasc. 10 of the Woodbrooke Studies, edited by A. Mingana, which is entitled The Christian Faith and the Interpretation of the Nicene Creed, by Theodore of Mopsuestia. The Mingana Collection is now housed in the new Selly Oak Colleges' Library at Birmingham.

Forfeiture and Grant during the English Occupation of Scotland, and Some Aspects of the Scots War of Independence, are two essays by D. W. Hunter Marshall, of the University of Manitoba, reprinted from vols. VIII. and IX. of *Scottish Notes and Queries.*

The Royal Historical Society has issued two new volumes, *Transactions,*

fourth ser., vol. XIV. (London, pp. 314), and *British Diplomatic Representatives, 1689–1789* (London, 1932, pp. xiii, 178). The latter is vol. XLVI. of the Camden third series. The editor is D. B. Horn, D. Litt., lecturer in history in the University of Edinburgh. Under each entry appear the dates of service, dates of credentials and instructions, with the place where the text of the dispatches may be found; if in manuscript either the Public Record Office or the British Museum. The list contains many famous names, John Churchill, Duke of Marlborough, John Methuen, and James Harris, Earl of Malmesbury. The final page of the list is given to the United States, with the mention of Richard Oswald and David Hartley. The volume of *Transactions* is made up of addresses and papers read at the meetings of the society. Two are by the president, Sir Richard Lodge, and belong to the field of diplomatic history of the eighteenth century to which he has contributed so much. Professor W. T. Morgan is the author of a paper on the Economic Aspects of the Negotiations at Ryswick. The volume also includes the Alexander Prize Essay, by Miss K. A. Walpole, the subject of which is of interest to students of American history, for it treats of The Humanitarian Movement of the Early Nineteenth Century to remedy Abuses on Emigrant Vessels to America.

A biography which will be awaited with interest is the memoir of Sir George Otto Trevelyan by his son, Professor George Macaulay Trevelyan. The publishers are to be Longmans, Green and Company.

Come with me to India, by Mrs. Patricia Kendall (New York, Scribner's, pp. x, 467, $3.50), is an effort to interpret the problems of India in the light of her past history. Chs. IV. and V. deal with the Mohammedan conquest and the Mogul emperors from Akbar to Aurangzeb, while chs. V. and VII. tell the story of European ventures, with the growth of the East India Company and its great successor, the British Empire in India. In the discussion of the present situation a prominent place is given to a characterization of Gandhi and a sketch of his career.

Articles: Erwin F. Meyer, *Anent the Statute of Westminster I. and Liability* (St. Louis Law Rev., Dec.); Elisabeth G. Kimball, *The Judicial Aspects of Frank Almoign Tenure* (Eng. Hist. Rev., Jan.); V. H. Galbraith, *Thomas Walsingham and the St. Albans Chronicle* (*ibid.*); Frank Taylor, ed., *The Chronicle of John Strecche for the Reign of Henry V., 1414–1422* [the major portion of bk. V. of *Historia Regum Anglie,* printed for the first time in its entirety] (Bulletin, John Rylands Library, Jan.); Jean S. Wilson, *Sheriffs' Rolls of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Eng. Hist. Rev., Jan.); Wilson H. Coates, *Some Observations on the "Grand Remonstrance"* (Jour. of Mod. Hist., Mar.); Frank Monaghan, *A New Document on the Identity of "Junius"* (*ibid.*); L. Stuart Sutherland, *Edmund Burke and the First Rockingham Ministry* (Eng. Hist. Rev., Jan.); Arthur Lyon Cross,

Old English Local Courts and the Movement for their Reform (Mich. Law Rev., Jan.); Chester Kirby, *The Attack on the English Game Laws in the Forties* (Jour. of Mod. Hist., Mar.); P. de Barante, *Les Procédés Diplomatiques de Palmerston* (Rev. d'Hist. Dipl., XLV. 4). Ralph M. Hower, *The Wedgwoods, Ten Generations of Potters* (Jour. of Ec. and Bus. Hist., Feb.).

FRANCE

General review: N. Kareev, *Les Études sur l'Histoire de France en Russie depuis Vingt Ans* [titles of books are translated into French] (Rev. d'Hist. Mod., Sept.).

The Bibliothèque et Musée de la Guerre and the Bibliothèque de Documentation Internationale Contemporaine, both founded by the Société de l'Histoire de la Guerre, have now been consolidated under the name of Bibliothèque de Documentation Internationale Contemporaine et Musée de la Grande Guerre, and have, by vote of the society, been transferred to the University of Paris.

M. A. Augustin-Thierry has edited the *Mémoires de Robert Challes, Écrivain du Roi* (Paris, Plon, pp. xxii, 301, 18 fr.). The subtitle, *Un Colonial au Temps de Colbert,* is evidently not intended to imply that the memoirs deal chiefly with colonial enterprises, for the main interest of the memoirs is the spirit in which the evils of the reign of Louis XIV. are portrayed. Written during the Regency, when John Law's "System" had collapsed, "La Révolution", as the author remarks, "gronde encore sourdement dans ses pages empoisonnées. Elle gronde cependant." It may be added that an "Écrivain" was a supercargo, and that Challes served in the royal marine twenty-four years.

M. Marcel Langlois is engaged in preparing an edition of the *Œuvres Complètes de Mme. de Maintenon.* His critical introduction appears in the *Revue Historique* for November.

M. Albert de Pouvourville, in his brief biography of *Francis Garnier* (Paris, Plon, pp. 253, 15 fr.), celebrates the short but brilliant career of one of the founders of French Indo-China. The author writes in the mood of the older enthusiasm for exploration and empire building. He gives a detailed account of Garnier's exploration of the Mékong, which proved to be so important for the later delimitation of the frontier between Indo-China and British Burma. This volume is no. 7 of the series entitled Les Grandes Figures Coloniales.

M. Gaston-Martin, known for his substantial studies in the history of the French Revolution, has written a book on *Joseph Caillaux* (Paris, Alcan, pp. 207, 15 fr.), which not only sketches with warm admiration the charac-

ter and career of the negotiator of the "peace with honour" of 1911, but also makes a sustained attack upon M. Poincaré, who, the author believes, was behind all the attempts to ruin M. Caillaux during the war. The story of how the strands of hatred and suspicion were woven into a case for treason is told in the chapter with the appropriate title of L'Hallali. The volume belongs to the series of Les Questions du Temps Présent.

The centenary of the capture of Algiers is an appropriate occasion for a review of the work of the French Catholic Church in North Africa. This has been done by Mgr. A. Pons, a canon of St. Louis of Carthage, under the title of *La Nouvelle Église d'Afrique, ou le Catholicisme en Algérie, en Tunisie, et au Maroc* (Tunis, Louis Namura; Paris, Paul Geuthner, pp. xv, 340, 20 fr.). The Revolution of 1830 compromised the first efforts of churchmen in Algiers, and for a time the attitude of the Orleanist government was hostile. It is a curious fact that the Algerians reproached the French for being without a religion, and this prompted the officials to favorable action. A notable place in the narrative is naturally reserved for Cardinal Lavigerie.

The title of the volume, *Les Héros du Sahara,* by Sonia E. Howe, with a preface by Maréchal Lyautey (Paris, Colin, pp. 366, 35 fr.), does not fully suggest the scope of this work. It is the story of the Sahara and the tribes of the Sahara, Chaambas and Touareg, political and social. It is also the story of the pacification and organization, which actually began with the French advance to the oases and the appointment of Laperrine as Commandant des Territoires Sahariens, in 1901. In the center of the picture are, necessarily, Laperrine, the soldier-administrator, and Charles de Foucauld, the explorer, the Père de Foucauld of Tamanrasset. The book has an excellent bibliography and a map. G. F. A.

Dr. William R. Sharp, secretary of the Social Science Research Council, offers his volume on *The French Civil Service, Bureaucracy in Transition* (New York, Macmillan, pp. xii, 588, $3.50) as a "segmentary contribution" to a "genuine science of *comparative* public administration". The historian's interest in his analyses arises not only from his discussion of the historical background in the first chapter, but also from the fact that the character of the bureaucracy is one of the elements of French life which is slowest to change, so that a description of the present is inevitably a description of at least the more recent past.

Articles: Léon Mirot, *Une Expédition Française en Tunisie au XIV^e^ Siècle: le Siège de Mahdia, 1390* (Rev. des Études Hist., Oct.); Gaston Dodu, *Louis XI.* (Rev. Hist., Sept.); Norman J. Ware, *The Physiocrats* (Am. Ec. Rev., Dec.); E. Bertrand, *Un Ministre de la Marine sous Louis XVI.: Bertrand de Molleville* (Rev. des Études Hist., Oct.); B. Mirkine-

Guetzévitch, *La Révolution Française et les Projets d'Union Européenne* (Rév. Fr., Oct.); Ernest d'Hauterive, *Bonaparte: Lettres de Jeunesse, 1789–1792* [unpublished] (Rev. des D. M., Dec. 15); Arthur-Lévy, *Jérôme Bonaparte et Napoléon* (Rev. de Paris, Dec. 15); Rudolf Stadelmann, *Hippolyte Taine und die Politische Gedankenwelt der Französischen Rechten* (Zeitsch. für die Gesamte Staatswiss., XCII. 1); Duc de Broglie, *Mémoires* [I., II.] (Rev. des D. M., Jan. 1, 15).

NETHERLANDS AND BELGIUM

Under the auspices of the Belgian Commission Royale d'Histoire has been published pt. 1 of the *Correspondance de la Filiale de Bruges des Medici,* edited by A. Grunzweig, member of the Belgian Historical Institute at Rome (Brussels, Maurice Lamertin, pp. lii, 158). The editor has furnished a substantial introduction, dealing especially with the branch house at Bruges and with its most prominent governor, Tommaso Portinari. Gradually the principal business of the branch changed from banking to trade in English wool and in Italian silks. As the fortunes of this branch were closely associated with those of the London *filiale* a few letters taken from the London correspondence are included in the collection.

The House of Martinus Nijhoff has inaugurated a series of Uitgaven vanwege het Koninklijk Huisarchief, published under the general direction of Dr. N. Japikse, archivist of the House of Orange, with the issue of two volumes of *Correspondentie van de Stadhouderlijke Familie, 1777–1795* (2 vols., pp. xxv, 243; iv, 258), edited by Johanna W. A. Naber.

A new issue in the illustrated series, Nederlandsche Historische Bibliotheek (The Hague, Nijhoff), is the first volume of *Willem I., Koning der Nederlanden, zijn Leven en Regeering,* by Professor H. T. Colenbrander. The second and concluding volume will be published in 1932.

Articles: H. Nelis, *La Collation des Bénéfices Ecclésiastiques en Belgique sous Clément VII., 1378–1394* [Avignon] (Rev. d'Hist. Ecclés., Jan.); F. L. Ganshof, *Saint-Bertin et les Origines du Comté de Guines* (Rev. Belge de Philol. et d'Hist., July); A. Eck, *A propos des Draps d'Ypres à Novgorode* (*ibid.*); L. Willaert, *L'État des Esprits en Belgique vers 1830* (Rev. d'Hist. Mod., Sept.); Michel Huisman, *Juillet 1870: la Candidature Hohenzollern et la Famille Royale de Belgique* (Flambeau, Jan.).

GERMANY AND AUSTRIA

General review: Otto Brandt, *Hamburgische und Deutsch-Dänische Geschichtsliteratur* (Hist. Zeitsch., Dec., 1931).

How the conception of a great historical figure may change with the vicissitudes of time is illustrated in Erica Schirmer's *Die Persönlichkeit*

Kaiser Heinrichs IV. im Urteil der Deutschen Geschichtschreibung (Jena, Walter Biedermann, pp. xvi, 92). An introductory chapter deals with the accounts beginning with Ekkehard, but the essay is concerned mainly with the period from Humanism until the middle of the eighteenth century.

Thomas Münzers Briefwechsel, edited from the manuscripts and earliest copies by Heinrich Böhmer, and, after his death, by Paul Kirn (Leipzig, Teubner, pp. 170, 11 M.) is important chiefly for its establishment of correct texts, although eighteen pieces have been added to the number already known.

The *Ausgewählter Briefwechsel* of Rudolph Haym, edited by Hans Rosenberg (Stuttgart, Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1930, pp. 403, 15 M.), is an important addition to the documents available for the history of the liberal movement in Germany. These letters form vol. XXVII. of the publications of the Bavarian Academy of Science. They open in 1841, and are especially valuable for the Revolution of 1848. They include letters from Dahlmann, Beckerath, Max Duncker, Hansemann, and others. Haym was one of the many liberals who finally went over to Bismarck without definitely repudiating their past.

The German four volume edition of Prince von Bülow's *Memoirs,* together with the English translation of the first volume, was reviewed in the October *Review* (XXXVII. 119). The second volume of the English translation (Boston, Little, Brown, $5.00) covers the years from 1903 to 1909, with interesting material on the Moroccan and Bosnian crises, on the Kaiser's friction with his uncle, Edward VII., and with his own son, the Crown Prince, on the campaign against the Social Democrats in the 1907 election, and especially on the *Daily Telegraph* affair, which was one of the ultimate causes of Bülow's complete and embittered fall from power. The translator, Mr. Geoffrey Dunlop, in his free but substantially accurate rendering, has again conveyed something of the charm and piquancy of Bülow's own amusing and picturesque style. The translated volume retains the excellent portraits of the German edition (with the exception of that of Freiherr von Loë), but omits the facsimiles of several interesting documents: the Kaiser's telegram to Bülow saying that it was extremely doubtful whether he would land at Tangier; the text of the treaty signed at Björkö; an amusing *Simplicissimus* caricature of 1907 of a Roman Catholic and a Social Democrat peeking into a room where children are tugging at Bülow's coat to prevent his leaving and saying, "Stay with us, Uncle Bernhard, the Bad Men are standing outside"; the *Daily Telegraph* article; the Kaiser's marginalia condemning the Austrian annexation of Bosnia; an intimate and significant letter of Holstein to Bülow; and the Crown Prince's cordial letter of regret at Bülow's resignation. S. B. F.

M. Jérôme Troud's *Charles Ier, Empereur d'Autriche, Roi de Hongrie* (Paris, Plon, pp. viii, 241, 12 fr.) is a sympathetic sketch of the life of one of the most tragic figures of the World War, written, perhaps, to commend the claims of Otto, Charles's son, to the crown of St. Stephen. The most interesting pages of the book deal with the reasons why Charles failed to stay the process of disintegration in the Dual Monarchy and with the collapse of his two attempts to bring about a restoration in Hungary. The author has only words of denunciation for several of the advisers of Charles at Vienna. Count Czernin is described as a "dead weight, without decision of character, superficial and obstinate".

After close observation of German life for six years M. Pierre Viénot has embodied his impressions in a small volume called *Incertitudes Allemandes* (Paris, Valois, pp. 166, 10 fr.). This has been translated into English with the title *Is Germany finished?* (New York, Macmillan). The aim of the author is not to point out the dangers that beset Germany, but rather to describe the complete change of attitude in Germany toward life in all its phases, private morality as well as public policy, a change brought about by the disintegration of the German bourgeoisie consequent upon the great collapse of November, 1918. The German has lost his faith in stability. To him the future is a venture, but he has the redeeming quality of a readiness to take the risks.

To the series of Documents de Politique Contemporaine [Bibliothèque d'Histoire et Politique, Jacques Ancel, Directeur] has been added a volume entitled *L'Autriche,* edited by Professor B. Mirkine-Guetzévitch and Professor A. Tibal (Paris, Delagrave, 1932, 12 fr.). It is made up of selections of documents illustrating the vicissitudes of government in Austria since 1918.

Articles: Ferdinand Stöller, *Der Kampf um die Südostdeutschen Herzogtümer, 1276–1278: eine Studie zur Kriegsgeschichte des Mittelalters* [Rudolf of Hapsburg against Przemysl Ottokar II. of Bohemia] (Mitteil. des Ver. für Gesch. der Stadt Wien, XI.); Otto Schiff, *Die Wirsberger: ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Revolutionären Apokalyptik im 15. Jahrhundert* (Hist. Vierteljahr., Dec. 31); Ernst Jirgal, *Johann Heinrich Bökler, 1611–1672* [German historian] (Mitteil. des Oester. Inst. für Geschichtsf., XLV. 3); Karl Brandi, *Justus Möser* (Preuss. Jahrb., Jan.); Justus Schmidt, *Voltaire und Maria Theresia: Französische Kultur des Barock in ihren Beziehungen zu Oesterreich* [survey of French cultural influence on Austria during eighteenth century] (Mitteil. des Ver. für Gesch. der Stadt Wien, XI.); Ernst Kornemann, *Niebuhr und der Aufbau der Altrömischen Geschichte* (Hist. Zeitsch., Dec.); Walter Stietzel, *Die Handelspolitischen Beziehungen Preussens zu Hannover und der Schleichhandel auf dem Eichsfelde vor 100 Jahren* (Thüring.-Säch. Zeitsch. für Gesch. und Kunst, XIX. 2); Fried-

rich Engel-Janosi, *Kaiser Josef II. in der Wiener Bewegung des Jahres 1848* [favorable and hostile judgments of the previous half century; popular idealization in 1848, especially in the liberal March days] (Mitteil. des Ver. für Gesch. der Stadt Wien, XI.); Eugen Franz, *Preussens Kampf mit Hannover um die Anerkennung des Preussisch-Französischen Handelsvertrag von 1862* (Hist. Vierteljahr., Dec. 31); Hellmut Kretzschmar, ed., *König Friedrich Wilhelms IV. Briefe an König Friedrich August II. von Sachsen* [I., 1829–1848] (Preuss. Jahrb., Jan.).

ITALY AND SPAIN

General Review: Paolo Orsi, *Bibliografia Siciliana di Geografia, Storia, Archeologia, Arte* [1930] (Arch. Stor. per la Sicilia Or., XXVII. 2).

Antonio Monti furnishes fresh source material for study of the movement for Italian unity in his *Il Conte Luigi Torelli: il Risorgimento Italiano studiato attraverso una Nobile Vita,* accompanied by 300 unpublished documents (Milan, R. Istituto Lombardo di Scienze e Lettere, pp. 513).

Of interest to students of the Risorgimento is Martino Beltrani Scalia's *Giornali di Palermo nel 1848–1849, con Brevi Accenni a Quelli delle Altre Principali Città d'Italia nel Medesimo Periodo a Cura del Figlio Vito Beltrani* (Palermo, Edizioni Sandron, pp. 128).

The revival of interest in the question of the pope's temporal power is reflected in Stefano Iacini's *Il Tramonto del Potere Temporale nelle Relazioni degli Ambasciatori Austriaci a Roma, 1860–1870* (Bari, Laterza, pp. 359).

Articles: M. Mansfield, *Fra Salimbene of Parma, Mendicant and Gentleman, 1221–1289* (Dublin Rev., Jan.); Giovanni Zoppi, ed., *Un Manoscrito Inedito di Vincenzo Annibaldi, Giureconsulto Valenzano* [1561–1567] (Riv. di Stor., Arte, e Arch. per la Provincia di Alessandria, July); Michel de Boüard, *La Mort de Grégoire XIII. d'après un Récit Inédit de son Médecin* (Rev. Hist., Sept.); Roberto Michels, *Les Idées Coloniales des Économistes Classiques Italiens du XVII^e^ et du XVIII^e^ Siècle* (Rev. des Sci. Pol., Oct.); D. Spadoni, *Federazione e Re d'Italia Mancati nel 1814–1815* (N. Riv. Stor., Sept.); Saverio Nasalli Rocca, *I Seminatori: Enrico Cosenz* [Italian general; Garibaldi's war minister; active 1848–1882] (N. Antol., Dec. 16); C. Naselli, *L'Università di Catania nel Sacco dell'Aprile 1849, con Documenti* (Arch. Stor. per la Sicilia Or., XXVII. 2); Alberto Pingaud, *Bettino Ricasoli e la Questione Romana, con tre Lettere Inedite* [1861] (N. Antol., Feb. 1); Filippo Crispolti, *Nel Decennio della Morte di Benedetto XV., 22 Gennaio 1922–1932: Ricordi Personali* (N. Antol., Jan. 1); Louis Bertrand, *L'Espagne Musulmane* (Rev. des D. M., Jan. 15., Feb. 1, 15).

NORTHERN EUROPE

The Norwegian *Historisk Tidsskrift* has recently published (1931, 4) a bibliography of Norwegian history and related sciences for the year 1928. The compiler, Reidar Omang, lists more than 2000 titles.

A recent publication of more than ordinary importance is a *History of Sweden,* by Professor A. A. Stomberg, of the University of Minnesota (Macmillan, pp. xiv, 823, $8.50).

Svenska Kulturbilder, edited by Sigurd Erixon and Sigurd Wallin, is a series of essays by various Swedish authors dealing with the more outstanding subjects in the history of Swedish culture. The work is to be completed in twelve parts, eight of which have been published (Stockholm, 1929–1931).

Birger Nerman's work entitled *The Poetic Edda in the Light of Archeology* is a noteworthy study of one of the great poetic sources of Northern history. It is published by The Viking Society for Northern Research (Coventry).

The history of Scania before 1658 when it was finally transferred to Sweden is the subject of *Skånelands Historia* (Lund, 1930), which the author, Sture Bolin, hopes to complete in four parts. The first part, the only one thus far published, carries the study to the year 1000.

Gorčakov, Ignatiev, and Šuvalov, by Georg Wittrock, of Uppsala, is an interesting and highly enlightening study of Russian foreign policy in the years 1875–1878. The author has gathered his information chiefly from German and Austrian documents, many of which are published in an appendix (*Historisk Tidskrift* [Swedish], 1931, 3–4).

Vol. XXI. of *Islandica,* issued by the Cornell University Library, is a monograph on *The Cartography of Iceland,* by Halldór Hermannsson (Ithaca, pp. 81, $2.00). There are twenty-six photographic reproductions of maps, from an Anglo-Saxon map of the eleventh century to Björn Gunnlaugsson's Smaller Map of Iceland, 1849.

Articles: C. O. B. Andersen, *Hertugdömmerne og Danmark i Nutiden* [Denmark and the Duchies in modern times] (*Historisk Tidsskrift* [Danish], 1931, 3); T. J. Arne, *Gotländska Silverfund från Vikingatiden* [a statement of the silver coins and other materials in silver belonging to Viking times which have been found on the island of Gotland] (Fornvännen [Archeological Yearbook], 1931); Sture Bolin, *Danmark og Tyskland under Harold Gormssön* [Denmark and Germany in the days of Harold Gormssön] (Scandia, 1931, 2); O. A. Johnsen, *Norges Handel på Spania under Kristian IV.* [the Norwegian trade with Spain in the reign of Christian IV.] (*Historisk Tidsskrift* [Norwegian], 1931, 4); Halvdan Koht,

Det Nye Kringom År 1300 i Norderlensk Historia [What was new in Northern history about 1300, a study in Northern feudalization] (Scandia, 1931, 2); J. Salgren, *Wikingerfahrten im Osten* (Zeitsch. für Slav. Philol., VIII. 3/4, 1931); Max Vasmer, *Wikingspuren bei den Westslaven* (Zeitsch. für Osteur. Gesch., Jan.); A. Savič, *Die Agrarwirtschaft der Klostergüter des Russischen Nordens im 14.–17. Jahrhundert* (*ibid.*); Miron Korduba, *Der Ukraine, Niedergang und Aufschwung* (*ibid.*).

L. M. L.

UNITED STATES

GENERAL

Among recent accessions to the Division of Manuscripts in the Library of Congress the following may be noted: orderly book of Capt. Jeremiah Marston, 1762; autobiography, to 1793, of Edward Thornton, secretary of British legation; diaries and 14 letters of James G. Birney; 150 letters of Lieut. Harry Eld, U. S. N., naval service, 1831–1849, especially in Wilkes's Antarctic explorations; notes respecting Secretaries Marcy and Welles collected by the late H. B. Learned; letters of Charles Buford, 1843–1864; papers of William H. Cushman, chief engineer of the *Kearsarge*, 11 pieces; a collection of several hundred Civil War letters and narratives written with the left hand by soldiers who had lost the right hand; nine volumes of correspondence of Charles F. McKim; 28 boxes of papers of White House ceremonials and entertainments, 1897–1903; letters of Gen. Leonard Wood to his mother; papers of the Progressive organization of 1924, two boxes; twelve volumes of correspondence of the woman suffrage movement in New York, 1908–1915; the usual flow of photographic reproductions from European archives and libraries; additional photostats of letters of George Washington held elsewhere; copies of 67 letters of John Marshall and photostats of his account books; and additional photostats from the papers of Secretary James McHenry, substantially completing this collection.

The Division of Historical Research of the Carnegie Institution of Washington has issued the *List of Doctoral Dissertations in History now in Progress at the Chief American Universities, December, 1931.*

Plans for the appointment of a National Park Service Historical Committee have recently been made. This group, the personnel of which is yet to be announced, will be drawn from the principal historical and archæological organizations of the nation for the purpose of considering the many problems in history and pre-history now before this governmental agency. A general survey and classification of historic sites on a nation-wide scale is one of the projects contemplated. Dr. Waldo G. Leland, Permanent Secretary of the American Council of Learned Societies, was recently appointed as the historical member of the Educational Advisory Board of the National

Park Service. He, as well as Dr. Clark Wissler, Curator in Chief, American Museum of Natural History, is working with Verne E. Chatelain, Chief Historian, in the formulation of these plans.

The first number of *Historical Notes,* the bulletin of Colonial National Monument, made its appearance during the month of February. Among the articles are The Colonial National Monument, its Beginning and Present State of Development, by Superintendent William M. Robinson; The Background of Colonial Architecture, by William M. Haussmann, Junior Landscape Architect; and an analysis of the Historical Background of Colonial National Monument, by B. Floyd Flickinger. *Historical Notes* is edited by Assistant Park Historian Elbert Cox under the general supervision of the Historical Division of the National Park Service. The monument area, as constituted by Congress in 1930, comprises parts of old Jamestown, Williamsburg, and Yorktown, Va. Headquarters have been established at Yorktown where the historical staff has inaugurated extensive research, looking toward the future development of the monument. One of the features planned by the National Park Service is a scenic parkway skirting the banks of the York and James rivers which will link the three principal centers in the monument in such a way as to emphasize the importance of these rivers in the colonial story.

The *Proceedings* of the American Antiquarian Society for October, 1930 (XL. 2), contains an article on A. E. van Braam Houckgeest, Dutch-American traveler in China, by Henry W. Kent; a thorough study of Duff Green's quasi-diplomatic activities in England and France in 1841–1843 and Cass's defeat of the Quintuple Treaty, by Professor Sioussat, who prints from the manuscript Duff Green's "England and the United States"; a paper on Benjamin Franklin Bache, by Professor Bernard Faÿ; and a long series of letters written from Washington in 1810–1815 by Abijah Bigelow, a stoutly partisan Federalist congressman from Massachusetts.

In the second *Bulletin* of the Huntington Library (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, November, pp. 176) there is an illuminating article by Sir William Beveridge entitled Some Explorations in San Marino. His comments deal with the Battle Abbey documents, the Stowe, Huntington, and Ellesmere collections, and conclude with some remarks on the library as a place of research in English history. In the same number is a Check List of English Newspapers and Periodicals before 1801, prepared by Anthony J. Gabler.

The publication of vol. II. of the *Correspondence of General Thomas Gage,* edited by Professor C. E. Carter, will be deferred for at least another year owing to the desirability of including in the volume additional matter from the Gage Papers.

The Bureau of American Ethnology, Smithsonian Institution, has published in *Bulletin* no. 103, *Source Material for the Social and Ceremonial Life of the Choctaw Indians,* by John R. Swanton (Washington, Government Printing Office, pp. 282, 60 cents).

If favored with a reasonable subscription list the Stewart Commission of Colorado College, Archer B. Hulbert, Director, will begin late this year the publication of its Voorhis series entitled Overland to the Pacific: a Narrative and Documentary History of the Far West, 1819–1869, under the editorship of the director of the commission. Pt. 1 carries the subtitle *Crusaders of the Northwest,* to appear in eight volumes, three to be issued each college year. About one-third of pt. 1 will be narratives by the editor; the most important of these will be a life of Marcus Whitman, appearing as three introductions to three volumes. The mysteries of the "Whitman Controversy" will here be examined in the light of new material. About one-third of the eight volumes will present letters and documents never before printed. Another third will be reprint material mostly taken from old magazines and newspapers unobtainable to-day; among these items Hall J. Kelly's *Letters to a Congressman* and the various issues of *The Oregonian* (1838–1839) are to be noted.

Mrs. Anita Libman Lebeson on the basis of the Gratz Papers, preserved in St. Louis, the Etting Collection of the Pennsylvania Historical Society, and other manuscript collections, has written a comprehensive work on the part played by the Jews in the development of the United States. The title of her volume is *Jewish Pioneers in America, 1492–1848* (New York, Brentano's, pp. 372, $4.00). It is provided with an extended bibliography.

A further contribution to the history of Judaism in the United States is the biography of Moses Mielziner, 1828–1903, by his daughter-in-law, Ella McKenna Friend Mielziner (New York, privately printed, pp. xv, 254). In the same volume are reprinted Dr. Mielziner's essay, Slavery amongst the Ancient Hebrews, and other writings. There is also a bibliography.

Arthur Pound, joint author of *Johnson of the Mohawks* (*Am. Hist. Rev.,* XXXVI. 408), has written under the title of *Native Stock: the Rise of the American Spirit seen in Six Lives* (New York, Macmillan, pp. vii, 267, $2.50), biographical sketches of five soldiers of the colonial period with whom Johnson came in contact, and, to justify the subtitle, of one merchant and practical dreamer, Elkanah Watson. The essays on the William Pepperrells, Robert Rogers, and Watson, who already have their biographers, give most of the known facts without succeeding in fitting the individual into the background of the age. Those on John Bradstreet, Ephraim Williams, and James Clinton are thin, in the case of Williams, who first endowed the college of that name, perhaps necessarily so. The style is lively, and the book interesting. S. M. P.

The Ingenious Dr. Franklin: Selected Scientific Letters of Benjamin Franklin, edited by Nathan G. Goodman (Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, pp. xi, 244, $3.00), offers abundant evidence of the scope of Franklin's intellectual curiosity regarding subjects ranging from Prehistoric Animals of the Ohio to a Prophecy on Aerial Navigation. The letters come in part from manuscript collections, and make new Franklin material accessible.

Mr. M. E. Kinnan has printed through the Princeton University Press the *Order Book kept by Peter Kinnan* [his great-great-grandfather], *July 7–September 4, 1776.* As Mr. Kinnan says in his introduction, it was his ancestor's duty to copy at the headquarters of General Heard's brigade the orders for transmission to the various regiments. The entries are full of suggestions of the difficulties which the officers had in introducing something like discipline, even after the British were ready to land on Long Island. The orders for the infliction of lashes, commonly thirty-nine, were frequent, and the offenses ranged from sleeping on guard "being in liquor", to plain desertion, or to desertion from one company in order to receive a bounty for enlisting in another. Nicholas Thief was not inappropriately caught stealing. One regiment which fled in a panic was told by General Heard that "the timid females would have blushed to have betrayed the least signs of fear at anything which this regiment discovered at the time of their flight". There is also a reference to the new uniforms in the style of huntsmen which will "carry no small terror to the enemy, who think every such person a complete marksman".

The Life of William Bainbridge, Esq., of the United States Navy, by H. A. S. Dearborn, 1816, edited by James Barnes (Princeton, University Press, pp. xvii, 218, $5.00), is a reproduction of an old manuscript completed in 1816 and many years later found by Colonel James Barnes in the possession of a tailor in New York City. Colonel Barnes supplies a preface and also an appendix which carries the narrative down to the death of Bainbridge in 1833. While the manuscript was used in 1837 by Bainbridge's biographer, Thomas Harris, it contains much information not elsewhere in print. The book is attractively published, though not indexed.

In the *Diary of my Journey to America in the Year 1831,* by Johann August Roebling (Trenton, privately printed by the Roebling Press, pp. 134) is to be found a remarkable narrative of an immigrant's experience on a voyage from Bremen to Philadelphia. This was the Roebling who built the Brooklyn Bridge. He was one of the leaders of a large party which was to settle as a community. As the diary was written for friends at home who might later come to America the writer was careful to explain every condition which prospective voyagers should insert in their contracts with a ship's captain. Young Roebling was a man of unusual character

and of habits of close observation. The consequence is that his record answers a multitude of questions about the circumstances of travel on the Atlantic in 1831. The diary was first printed by the Roebling Printing House of Eschwege in 1832. Edward Underwood is the translator and the foreword is by Hamilton Schuyler.

An essay entitled *Russlanddeutsche Siedlungen in den Vereinigten Staaten,* by Richard Sallet, originally published in the *German-American Historical Review,* has now been issued separately.

The monograph by Dr. Donnal V. Smith on *Chase and Civil War Politics,* which originally appeared in the *Ohio Archaeological and Historical Quarterly* for July and October, 1930, has now been issued as vol. II. of the Ohio Historical Collections.

Articles: Nellis M. Crouse, *Causes of the Great Migration* (N. E. Quar., Jan.); John F. Byrne, *The Redemptorists in America* [VI.] (Records of the Am. Cath. Hist. Soc., Sept.); Emily Hickman, *Colonial Writs of Assistance* (N. E. Quar., Jan.); Robert E. Moody, *Samuel Ely, Forerunner of Shays* (*ibid.*); Maurice Halbwachs, *Chicago, Expérience Ethnique* (An. d'Hist. Éc. et Soc., Jan.); Kathleen Bruce, *Virginian Agricultural Decline to 1860: a Fallacy* (Agric. Hist., Jan.); Paul W. Gates, *Large Scale Farming in Illinois, 1850–1870* (*ibid.*); Harold E. Briggs, *Early Bonanza Farming in the Red River Valley of the North* (*ibid.*); J. G. de Roulhac Hamilton, *Lamar of Mississippi* (Va. Quar. Rev., Jan.); Abbott Payson Usher, *Histoire des Banques aux États-Unis* [I.] (Rev. d'Hist. Mod., Sept.); Jonathan Thayer Lincoln, *Material for a History of American Textile Machinery* (Jour. of Ec. and Bus. Hist., Feb.); Lillian E. Fisher, *American Influence on the Movement for Mexican Independence* (Miss. Valley Hist. Rev., Mar.); Clement Eaton, *The Freedom of the Press in the Upper South* (*ibid.*); Harold M. Dudley, *The Election of 1864* (*ibid.*); Elmer Ellis, *The Silver Republicans in the Election of 1896* (*ibid.*).

NEW ENGLAND

The item of chief historical interest in the January number of the *New England Historical and Genealogical Register* is a Diary kept by Dr. Increase Matthews on a Journey to the Ohio Country, 1798. The diary covers the period from June 4 to Sept. 24 and the journey from Oakham, Mass., to Gallipolis and Marietta, Ohio, and return.

The article on Canton and Salem, by Mr. Ping Chia Kuo, which originally appeared in the *New England Quarterly* of July, 1930, has been revised and supplemented, and is issued by the American Council of the Institute of Pacific Relations as pt. 3 of the series called Some Oriental Influences on Western Culture.

The *Proceedings* of the Vermont Historical Society for September contains a paper by George B. Upham entitled Sir William Phips and Early Townships of Western New Hampshire and Eastern Vermont. The historical connection between these townships and Sir William Phips lies in the fact that they were settled by "survivors or descendants" of the Canada Expedition under Phips in 1690. This issue includes also the Diary of Henry Stevens, founder and first president of the society.

MIDDLE COLONIES AND STATES

With the January number, beginning vol. XIII., the *Quarterly Journal* of the New York State Historical Association is renamed *New York History*, though in general format and content, as well as in editorial personnel and policy, it is unchanged. On June 1, Dr. Julian P. Boyd, editor of the Reynolds Memorial Publications of the Wyoming Historical and Geological Society, will take up his duties as Director of Headquarters House of the New York State Historical Association at Ticonderoga, N. Y. Besides building up the collections and carrying forward the educational program of the association, Mr. Boyd will begin an inventory of manuscript materials outside the great depositories which will ultimately reach to all parts of the state.

The January *Bulletin* of the Fort Ticonderoga Museum contains among other contributions a list of the Loyalist regiments and a list of the Loyalist officers with the dates of their appointment and with their rank in the army for the year 1782.

The January *Quarterly Bulletin* of the New York Historical Society is devoted to a descriptive article, by Dorothy C. Barck, of the Washingtoniana of the New York Historical Society.

William J. Hoffman contributes to the January number of the *New York Genealogical and Biographical Record* some Notes on Old Dutch-American Families, and William Jones an article on the Van Beuren Family of New York and New Jersey.

Pt. 4 of the Catalogue of the Phelps Stokes Collection of American Historical Prints appears in the January *Bulletin* of the New York Public Library. It deals with the Wood Block, Timothy Cole, and Others.

On Oct. 28, the New Jersey Historical Society formally entered its new home at 230 Broadway, Newark. The society's *Proceedings* of January include the dedicatory exercises, together with numerous illustrations. One article in this issue is especially deserving of notice, namely, the Effect of Hamilton's Financial Policy upon Public Opinion in New Jersey, by Walter R. Fee. Mr. Fee finds that Hamilton's financial policy "contributed greatly toward that division of public opinion which resulted in the Federalist and Democratic parties".

Professor Philip G. Auchampaugh concludes, in the January number of the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography,* his study of James Buchanan, the Squire from Lancaster, with an account of the "Squire at Home". Professor Auchampaugh has concerned himself only to a minor extent with Buchanan the politician, the diplomat, the statesman, but with Buchanan in a rôle that was "one of his greatest joys", that of a country gentleman, "the laird of Wheatland", the graceful host, his mental attributes, his literary tastes, his friendships—a very different Buchanan from that of the Abolitionist writers. Professor Waldemar Westergaard contributes translations, with an introduction, of two Germantown letters of 1738; Thomas R. Hay some letters of Mrs. Anne Biddle Wilkinson, wife of General James Wilkinson, written from Kentucky, 1788–1789, for which he furnishes extensive biographical notes; and the Hon. William R. Riddell a translation, with introduction and notes, of those portions of the last official report on the French posts in the northern part of North America which are of especial interest in Pennsylvania. Other portions of the report (with the same introduction) are contributed to the *Michigan History Magazine,* winter number.

The February number of the *Western Pennsylvania Magazine* contains the first of three papers, by Charles W. Dahlinger, on the Marquis Duquesne, Sieur de Menneville, Founder of the City of Pittsburgh. Dr. Solon J. Buck, director of the Western Pennsylvania Historical Survey, offers a Program for Research in Western Pennsylvania History.

Delaware Notes, seventh series (1931), published by the University of Delaware, contains a paper, by H. Clay Reed, on Lincoln's Compensated Emancipation Plan and its Relation to Delaware. It was in Delaware, the state in which slavery had most notably declined between 1790 and 1860, that Lincoln made the first essay of his compensated emancipation plan, and it is the Delaware phase of the project, through its varying forms, that is presented in this study. The *Notes* include another paper of historical character, namely, Three Decades of Delaware's Manufactures, by Joseph S. Gould.

Professor Peter Guilday, of the Catholic University of America, in commemoration of the Bicentennial of Washington, has reprinted, with an interesting introduction, the excellent eulogy, *A Discourse on General Washington,* which Bishop John Carroll delivered in the pro-cathedral of Baltimore on Feb. 22, 1800 (New York, P. J. Kenedy and Sons, pp. xxiv, 24).

SOUTHERN COLONIES AND STATES

The December number of the *Maryland Historical Magazine* contains a first installment of the documentary record of the case of Claiborne *vs.* Clobery *et als.* in the High Court of Admiralty, with an introduction by

Raphael Semmes. The Claiborne of the case is that William Claiborne whose name is associated with Kent Island. The proceedings, says Mr. Semmes, "are much more than a record of a law case. . . . The real reason for the publication of these records is the light they shed upon the first white settlement within the bounds of Maryland."

On Dec. 29, 1931, the Virginia Historical Society attained its one hundredth birthday, an occasion which was appropriately celebrated in the Old Hall of the House of Delegates, the place of its birth. The principal address was by Professor Charles M. Andrews, of Yale University. Appropriately also the October number of the *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* is devoted to a history of the society through these hundred years. The frontispiece of this issue is a silhouette portrait of Dr. Jonathan P. Cushing (1793–1835), founder of the society, and a brief sketch of his life is contributed by Dr. Joseph D. Eggleston.

The October number of the *William and Mary College Quarterly Historical Magazine* contains an article by L. Minerva Turnbull on Private Schools in Norfolk, 1800–1860. The study is based almost entirely on contemporary newspapers of Norfolk and, though limited to a single city, is doubtless typical of Southern cities of its class. Altogether sixty-five schools have been brought into this record. C. H. Laub contributes an article on Revolutionary Virginia and the Crown Lands. There are several groups of letters, among them some letters from the papers of General Joseph E. Johnston, principally of the period 1839–1848; also a second installment of letters from Thomas Jefferson to William Short (1785–1788).

In the January number of *Tyler's Quarterly Historical and Genealogical Magazine* Dr. Lyon G. Tyler reëxamines the Missouri Compromise, tracing its antecedents as well as the debates on the measure itself. The South, in his view, "though never favoring the so-called Missouri Compromise in its inception nor bound to regard it as a compact, was always disposed to treat it as a finality", a settlement, in fact, of the whole territorial question. It was only when the North refused to extend the principle to the country acquired from Mexico that "they became unwilling to respect it any longer, and voted to sustain the clause in the Kansas-Nebraska Bill (1854) repealing the Missouri Act of 1820". William B. McGroarty brings together under the title, the Mouth of Massaponax, some records of historic New Post Farm in Spotsylvania County.

The January number of the *North Carolina Historical Review* has an article by Ruth Blackwelder on the Attitude of the North Carolina Moravians toward the American Revolution. Jennings B. Sanders contributes to this issue an article on Thomas Burke in the Continental Congress, and Philip G. Davidson one on Sons of Liberty and Stamp Men, the latter being

a history of the formation, organization, and activities of the so-called Liberty Boys. A. R. Newsome contributes, with an introduction and notes, a first installment of a British Orderly Book, covering the period from Aug. 28, 1780, to Mar. 20, 1781, and pertaining for the first few weeks to military operations in New York, then to Leslie's expedition to Portsmouth, thence to Cornwallis's army, thereafter to the campaigns in South and North Carolina.

The *Proceedings* of the South Carolina Historical Association, which held its first annual meeting in March, 1931, contains, besides the record of the meeting, the following papers which were presented: The British South Africa Company, by M. W. Brown; Electoral Corruption in England, 1702–1714, by C. M. Ferrell; and the Granger Movement in South Carolina, by J. H. Easterby.

The January number of the *South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine* contains a first installment of the Diary of Josiah Smith, 1780–1781, edited by Mabel L. Webber. The writer of the diary was a member of the South Carolina assembly and was among those arrested after the surrender of Charleston to the British in 1780. Among the other contents of this issue are a Register of the Independent Congregational (Circular) Church of Charleston, 1784–1815, and a continuation of Peter Manigault's Letters (1854).

In the December number of the *Georgia Historical Quarterly* J. G. Johnson relates the history of the Founding of the Spanish Colonies in Georgia and South Carolina. The exploration and colonization of the region, which, under the Spanish régime, was a part of the province of Florida, progressed rapidly almost from the moment of the founding of St. Augustine, although in the latter years of the century the Spanish establishments and missions suffered severely from revolts. Other articles in this number of the *Quarterly* are: John Joachim Zubly: Georgia's Conscientious Objector, by Eunice R. Perkins; and a sketch of William Brown Hodgson (1801–1871), by Leonard L. Mackall.

Catholic Culture in Alabama deals, as its subtitle indicates, with the *Centenary Story of Spring Hill College, 1830–1930*. The author is Michael Kenny, S.J., Ph.D., Litt.D., and Dr. James J. Walsh has written a foreword (New York, America Press, pp. vii, 400).

In the January number of the *Louisiana Historical Quarterly* is a history of the Willing Expedition down the Mississippi, 1778, by John Caughey, of the University of California. The expedition of James Willing, ostensibly under the authority of the Continental Congress, but actually, it would appear, promoted by the Commercial Committee behind the back of Congress, has long waited for the investigator to unearth the scattered sources of in-

formation and piece them together into a comprehendable narrative. Sally Dart contributes, with an introduction, a paper entitled French Incertitude in 1718 as to a Site for New Orleans. It is a translation from Margry of the instructions of the Company of the West to Périer, chief engineer of Louisiana, Apr. 14, 1718. Among the other contents of this number are: the first installment of a History of Concordia Parish, Louisiana, by Robert D. Calhoun; a second installment of Ship Lists of Passengers leaving France for Louisiana, 1718–1724, translated by Albert L. Dart; and other continuations.

In the January number of the *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* Douglas C. McMurtrie gives a history of Pioneer Printing in Texas, being a chapter from his forthcoming work, *The Pioneer Press in the United States*. The first known instance of printing on Texan soil was in Galveston in 1817. W. C. Holden writes concerning the Problem of Hands on the Spur Ranch (1885–1907), and J. Evetts Haley contributes, with introduction and notes, a Log of the Texas-California Cattle Trail, 1854, a record kept by James G. Bell.

WESTERN STATES

The October number of the *Tennessee Historical Magazine* contains the first installment of a study, by Miss Frances H. Ewing, of the Senatorial Career of the Hon. Felix Grundy (1777–1840). Grundy, a stanch supporter of Jackson, "spent the greater part of his service in opposing Clay on the tariff question, deriding Webster's faith in the United States Bank, and boldly opposing Calhoun's theory of nullification rights". Dan M. Robinson contributes from his forthcoming study of the late Robert L. Taylor and Tennessee politics, 1886–1896, a discussion of Governor Taylor's attitude toward the Blair Educational Bill (1887). An article on Samuel Hazard's Proposed Colony in the Tennessee Country, 1755, is a contribution of Judge Samuel C. Williams.

The *Quarterly Bulletin* (January) of the Historical Society of Northwestern Ohio has for its subject the Story of Pontiac's War, 1763–1764, by the late Harvey W. Compton.

In the December number of the *Indiana Magazine of History* is an article by Earl E. McDonald on the Negro in Indiana before 1881. Contrary to the usual belief slavery did in fact exist in the Northwest Territory, despite its prohibition in the Ordinance of 1787, although never extending to large numbers. The evasion of the restriction in the Ordinance, as well as that in the constitution of 1816, was accomplished by means of a system of indentures. In the same issue of the *Magazine* Professor James A. Woodburn sketches the career of Henry Smith Lane (1811–1881), one of the founders of the Republican party in Indiana and United States senator,

1861–1867. Dr. Murray N. Hadley outlines the history of Medical Educational Institutions in Indiana.

The *Mennonite Quarterly Review,* of Goshen College (Ind.), contains, among other articles, a translation by Harold S. Bender of a Hutterite School Discipline of 1578.

The *Journal* of the Illinois State Historical Society for July, 1931, contains a paper entitled a Century of Methodism in Carlin, Illinois, by Everett R. Turnbull. A catalogue of Illinois newspapers in the New York Historical Society is contributed by Thomas O. Mabbott and Philip D. Jordan. Mr. Jordan contributes also eight letters of Ninian Edwards, from the manuscripts of the New York Historical Society. The more important letters include one to Governor William Henry Harrison, Sept. 2, 1812, and four to Rufus King, 1820–1824.

The January number of the *Missouri Historical Review* contains, besides continued articles hitherto mentioned, a paper by Paul W. Gates on the Railroads of Missouri, 1850–1870, and a short account of Some Early Missouri Bankers, by J. Ray Cable. Professor Gates's paper is accompanied by a series of maps and tables showing the amount of railroad mileage placed in operation annually in the state of Missouri and the location of these extensions.

The *Michigan History Magazine,* winter number, has an article by Anthony S. Wax on the Calumet and Hecla Copper Mines: an Episode in the Economic Development of Michigan. In contrast with the great copper mines of Montana, with their "colossal war of greed" that so long "befouled Montana politics", Mr. Wax declares that the "development of the copper resources of the Lake Superior region, as typified by the famous Calumet and Hecla mine, is as wholesome and clean a story of American commercial success as one can find". Hon. William R. Riddell contributes to this number of the *Magazine* a translation of those portions of the report on French posts in the northern part of North America of special interest in Michigan, other portions of which were contributed to the January number of the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography.*

The pages of the January number of the *Iowa Journal of History and Politics* are chiefly devoted to an analytical account, by Jacob A. Swisher, of the Legislation of the Forty-fourth General Assembly of Iowa.

The January number of the *Annals of Iowa* contains a paper by N. P. Dodge on Early Emigration through and to Council Bluffs, one by Ellis E. Wilson on Buffalo Wallows and Trails in Black Hawk County, and an Index to Abandoned Towns of Iowa, by David C. Mott.

Herman J. Deutsch contributes to the *Wisconsin Magazine of History,*

December number, a study of the Disintegrating Forces in Wisconsin Politics of the Early Seventies. Of especial interest to students of Lincoln is an account, by Albert H. Griffith, of Lincoln Literature, Lincoln Collections, and Lincoln Collectors. A documentary article is the California Diary of Charles M. Tuttle, 1859.

George Washington, 1732–1799: a List of Manuscripts, Books and Portraits in the Library of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, prepared by Ruth Pauline Hayward, assistant cataloguer, appears as *Bulletin of Information,* no. 98 (pp. 70). Professor Carl Russell Fish, chairman of the Bicentennial Committee, has written the introduction.

Three of the articles in the December number of *Minnesota History* are addresses delivered at sessions of the state historical convention in 1931. One of these, by Louise Phelps Kellogg, is on the French Régime in the Great Lakes Country. Even when the French régime had officially ended, says Miss Kellogg, "yet in being conquered the French were still conquerors"; for "throughout all the many years of the later fur trade, French *engagés* and *voyageurs* were indispensable", and French songs, the curious admixture of French and Indian in the language of barter, and the place-names of "the soft French syllables" still linger. Another address, by Lawrence J. Burpee, recounts the early history of Grand Portage. A third, by Verne E. Chatelain, has for its subject the Public Land Officer on the Northwestern Frontier, "one type of pioneer the constructive character of whose services the student of history has not always recognized."

The second number of the *Kansas Historical Quarterly* (February) offers a number of articles which, though pertaining primarily to Kansas, are nevertheless of more than local interest. Esther C. Hill describes the Pratt Collection of Manuscripts, in possession of the Kansas State Historical Society, a body of some 10,000 manuscripts left by John G. Pratt, missionary-printer, teacher, preacher, Indian agent, over the period from 1837 to 1870; and the same writer, utilizing one group of the papers, presents a study of the Background of Baptist Missions in Kansas. Under the title Surveying the Southern Boundary Line of Kansas is presented a section of the Journal of Col. Joseph E. Johnston, May 16 to October 29, 1857, edited, with an introduction, by Nyle H. Miller. Marvin H. Garfield relates the story of the Defense of the Kansas Frontier, 1864–1865.

The principal article in the *Colorado Magazine,* January number, is an account, by G. and E. Woodbury, of the Archaeological Survey of Paradox Valley and Adjacent Country in Western Montrose County, Colorado, 1931. S. E. Poet writes the Story of Tin Cup, Colorado, a "boom" mining town.

The Social Sciences in Colorado-Wyoming is the third bulletin to furnish a list of persons in the two states who are working in the fields of

anthropology, business administration, economics, geography, history, law, political science, and sociology. The editor is Colin B. Goodykoontz, of the University of Colorado, and the bulletin is published by the Colorado-Wyoming Academy of Science and the University of Colorado.

The *North Dakota Historical Quarterly* has, in the October number, a paper by Ruth E. Sandborn on the United States and the British Northwest, 1865–1870, an examination of the economic and political conditions that gave rise to the development of annexationist sentiment. Arthur J. Larsen writes a history of the Northwestern Express and Transportation Company, which, having begun its life in 1851 as the Minnesota Express Company, "for forty years, under one name or another . . . dominated the stage-coach and transportation business in Minnesota and Dakota", and "ended its existence in the closing days of the nineteenth century". The principal article in the January number is an account, by Donatien Frémont, of Archbishop Taché and the Beginnings of Manitoba, "a chapter in the history of the Dominion of Canada", says the author, "which calls up painful memories, violent struggles, and tenacious hates". The story is that of the Red River rebellion and the rôle played therein by Archbishop Taché.

In the *Chronicles of Oklahoma* for December, 1928, Carolyn T. Foreman gave an account of the establishment of the Choctaw Academy in Kentucky by Colonel Richard M. Johnson. In the current number (December, 1931) she presents an installment of new materials which she has unearthed relating to the academy since the former publication. A document of interest in this issue of the *Chronicles* is the report, dated at Washington City, February 17, 1838, made to Chief John Ross by a deputation of Cherokees who, at Ross's instance, had gone to Florida to endeavor to restore peace between the Seminoles and the government. Joe B. Milam continues his account of the Opening of the Cherokee Outlet (1893), while A. Emma Estill relates the similar story of the opening to settlement of the Kiowa-Comanche and Apache reservations, Aug. 6, 1901.

In the January number of the *New Mexico Historical Review* France Scholes discusses two Problems in the Early Ecclesiastical History of New Mexico, namely the date of the founding of the "Custodia de la Conversión de San Pablo del Nuevo México", and the chronology of the early custodians or prelates. There is an article by Walker D. Wyman on F. X. Aubry: Santa Fé Freighter, Pathfinder, and Explorer. Aubry was a Canadian who began freighting from Independence, Mo., to Santa Fé in the early 'forties, and in 1852 and 1854 drove sheep to California. Some Journals of his California expeditions are included.

To the January number of the *Arizona Historical Review* Joe Chisholm contributes a reminiscent article on Dr. James Douglas, who is characterized

as an empire builder and "the Far-Southwest's most useful pioneer". In this issue appears the fifth chapter of Mrs. Granville H. Oury's Diary, annotated by Colonel C. C. Smith, U. S. A., retired, and the conclusion of Will C. Barnes's history of the Pleasant Valley War of 1887.

Libros Californianos, or Five Feet of California Books, by Phil Townsend Hanna (Los Angeles, Primavera Press, pp. 74) contains annotated lists by Leslie E. Bliss, Henry R. Wagner, Robert E. Cowan, and by the author, of the twenty most important books dealing with the history of California.

It is surprising that Leland Stanford has had to wait so long for an adequate biography. The present work is by Mr. George T. Clark, Director Emeritus of the Stanford University Library. The title is *Leland Stanford, War Governor of California, Railroad Builder, and Founder of Stanford University* (Stanford University Press, pp. xv, 491, $4.00). Secretary Ray Lyman Wilbur has written a foreword. Although the most of Mr. Stanford's papers were destroyed in the great San Francisco fire of 1906, Mr. Clark has found much unutilized material, especially in the Hopkins Railway Library of Stanford University, to which have been added recently many letters on railway questions preserved by Mark Hopkins. The reader will naturally turn with particular interest to the chapter on The University and Educational Ideals.

In the December number of the *Oregon Historical Quarterly* J. Neilson Barry presents, under the title Broughton up Columbia River, 1792, a study of the topographical references and maps of Lieutenant W. R. Broughton, R. N., who was in command of the *Chatham,* one of the squadron of Captain George Vancouver, then engaged in a survey of the northwest coast for the British admiralty. Jesse S. Douglas writes of the Beginnings of Jefferson, including sketches of the careers of the two men, Jacob Conser and James Madison Bates, on whose claims the town was built; and Nellie B. Pipes contributes, with an introduction, a letter of the Rev. Herbert Beaver, written in 1842, describing Indian conditions, 1836–1838. Beaver was the first chaplain sent to Oregon by the London authorities of the Hudson's Bay Company (1836).

The contents of the January number of the *Washington Historical Quarterly* include an article by J. Orin Oliphant on Winter Losses of Cattle in the Oregon Country, 1874–1890; one by J. Neilson Barry concerning the traditions of Spaniards in Early Oregon; and an installment of the narrative of James Longmire, a pioneer of 1853, with an introduction by Professor Edmond S. Meany.

No. 18 of the *Papers* of the Hawaiian Historical Society contains the papers read at the meeting of Oct. 27, 1931. Three of them deal with the incident of the Japanese shipwrecked on one of the islands in 1807, including a Japanese narrative.

CANADA

General review: Arthur S. Morton, *The Early History of Hudson Bay* (Can. Hist. Rev., Dec.).

By authority of the Canadian government, Dr. J. F. Kenney, Director of Historical Research and Publicity, has prepared a *Catalogue of Lantern-Slides in the Public Archives of Canada* (Ottawa, F. A. Acland, pp. 53). It has a full index.

The *Canadian Historical Review* for December prints a list of the historical societies in Canada, which includes sixty-one organizations. The essential details in reference to each are given. It is worth noting that eleven of the number are French, of which five have been founded within the past decade.

Articles: Walter N. Sage, *Spanish Explorers of the British Columbian Coast* (Can. Hist. Rev., Dec.); J. A. Maxwell, *Lord Dufferin and the Difficulties with British Columbia, 1874–1877* (*ibid.*); J. J. Talman, *Agricultural Societies in Upper Canada* (vol. XXVII., *Papers and Records* of the Ontario Historical Society); M. A. Garland and J. J. Talman, Pioneer Drinking Habits and the Rise of the Temperance Agitation in Upper Canada prior to 1840 (*ibid.*).

CUBA, MEXICO, AND SOUTH AMERICA

A bulky volume, no. 22 of *Monografias Bibliográficas Mexicanas,* publishes an index of documents relating to New Spain found in the Archivo de Indias in Seville. This, which is the third volume of the index, contains 696 pages listing documents pertaining to the Casa de Contratación, such as ship registers, examinations of pilots, naturalization of foreigners in Spain, and reports of the Jesuit and other missions in America. It also includes a list of the twenty-two Mexican bibliographical monographs already published. Vol. IV. has just appeared.

Vol. XII., no. 47, of the *Boletín del Archivo Nacional,* Caracas, indicates a continuation of progress in classification and indexing of documents preserved in the National Archives of Vénezuela. The following classifications are enumerated: Miscellaneous, Royal Consulate, Gobernación and Captaincy General, Intendancy of the Army and Royal Treasury, Military Service Records, Ministry of the Interior and Justice of the Republic of Venezuela, Papers of Dr. Julian Viso, and Encomiendas.

Vol. XIV., no. 55, of the *Boletín* of the Academia Nacional de la História, Caracas, contains the following reprints of documents: Royal Cedulas; letters relating to the funds sent aboard ship at La Guayra when Miranda planned to escape from Venezuela in 1812, with a short introduction by Vicente Lecuna; continuation of documents pertaining to the military and civil career of General José de la Cruz Paredes; continuation of the diary

of Colonel Miguel Sagarzazu, family letters to General Páez, and extracts from reports of meetings of the Ayuntamiento of Caracas in 1807, with introduction by Vicente Dávila.

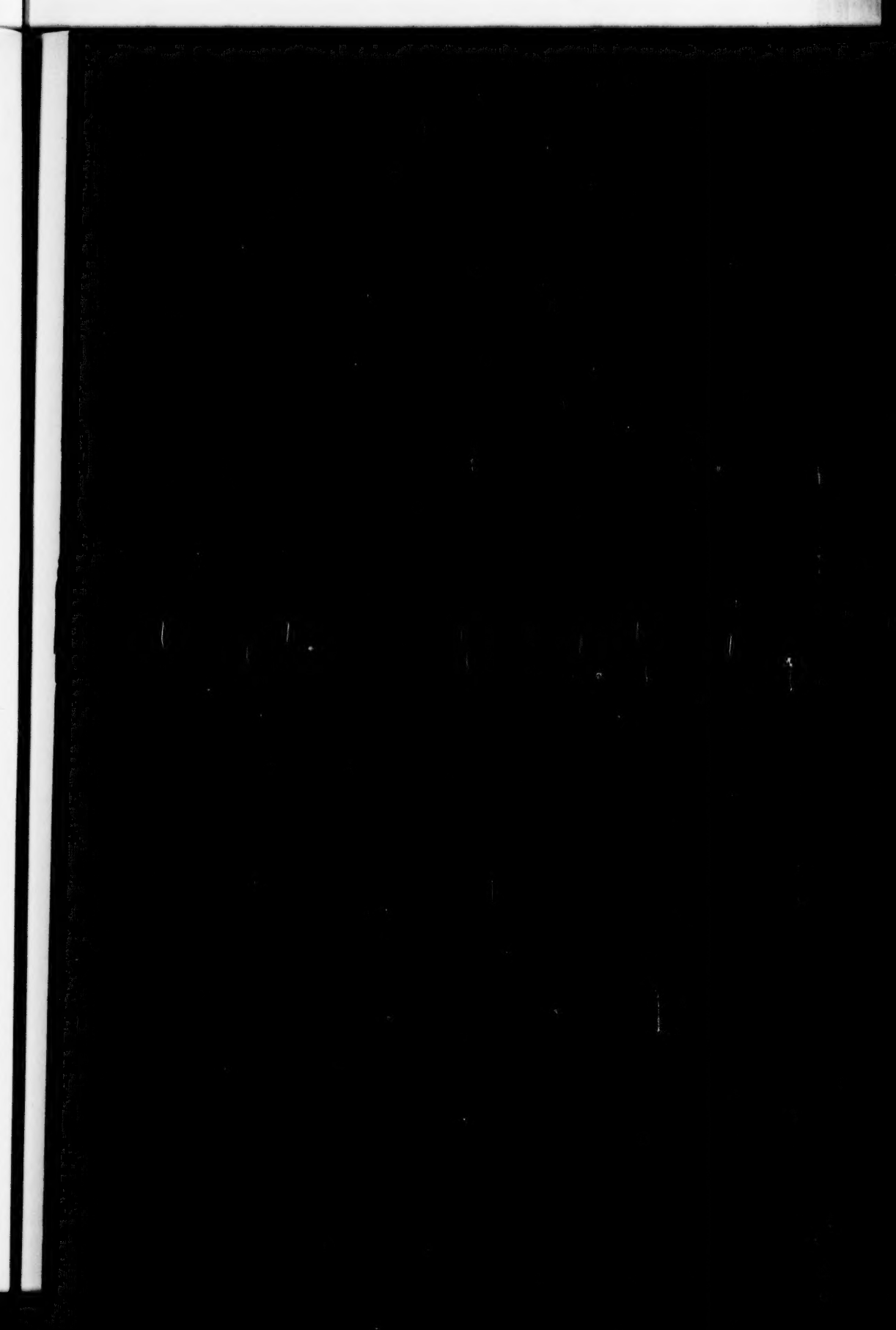
In a brief article on the will of the founder of Asunción, published in vol. XII., nos. 47–48, of the *Boletín* of the Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas, of Buenos Aires, Enrique de Gandia gives the interesting information that in the course of the search for data pertaining to the disputed boundary between Paraguay and Bolivia, many hitherto unknown documents relating to the history of the Rio de la Plata have been brought to light. These documents will prove of great value to historians of this region. In the same issue José Torre Revello contributes documentary information describing the clothing worn by the common people and the military uniforms in use in the viceroyalty of Buenos Aires during the second half of the eighteenth century.

Ricardo R. Caillet-Bois contributes a bibliography of the works of Salvador Benedetti, the historian of whom an excellent loose leaf engraving is enclosed.

A fifty-two page index of published documents is issued as a supplement to vol. XII. of the *Boletín*. A complete index of vol. XI. has also come from the press.

Brigadier General Eleazer López Contreras of the Venezuelan army has published, in honor of the centenary of the death of Bolívar, a scholarly and exhaustive critique of the Liberator as a soldier, entitled *Bolívar Conductor de Tropas*. This book of 215 pages contains the best maps and plans—twelve of them—of the campaigns and battles of Bolívar which have as yet come to the notice of the writer. Portraits of Bolívar and of his generals are also reproduced, as well as photographs of battlefields. At the end is an extensive summary and tabulation of the battles, sieges, and engagements fought in Venezuela during the war for independence.

Articles: W. Eugene Shiels, *Gonzalo de Tapia : un Conquistador de Dios, 1561–1594* (Mid-America, Jan.); Manuel Cuevas, *Dawn of Christianity in Mexico* (*ibid.*); John Caughey, *Bernardo de Gálvez and the English Smugglers on the Mississippi, 1777* (Hisp. Am. Hist. Rev., Feb.); Francis Merriman Stanger, *National Origins in Central America* (*ibid.*); Harold F. Peterson, *Efforts of the United States to mediate in the Paraguayan War* (*ibid.*).

A. H.

Contributions to the section of Historical News have been made by G. F. Andrews, G. C. Boyce, T. R. S. Broughton, E. C. Burnett, E. N. Curtis, S. B. Fay, Alfred Hasbrouck, J. F. Jameson, S. M. Pargellis, C. O. Paullin, and J. A. Wilson.